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WORKS

OF THE LATE

DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN;

CONSISTING OF

HIS LIFE, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

TOGETHER WITH

ESSAYS, HUMOUROUS, MORAL & LITERARY;

CHIEFLY IN THE MANNER OF

THE SPECTATOR.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

THE SECOND AMERICAN EDITION.

PRINTED BY

SAMUEL CAMPBELL, BOOKSELLER,

No. 124, Pearl Street, NEW-YORK.

1794.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
158347
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.
1899.

PREFACE.

THE volumes that are here preſented to the Public, conſiſt of two parts: the Life of Dr. Franklin and a Collection of Miſcellaneous Eſſays, the work of that author.

It is already known to many, that Dr. Franklin amuſed himſelf, towards the cloſe of his life, with writing memoirs of his own life and family. Theſe memoirs were brought down to the year 1757. Together with ſome other manuſcripts, they were left behind him at his death, and were conſidered as conſtituting a part of his poſthumous property. It is a little extraordinary that, under theſe circumſtances, intereſting as they are, from the celebrity of the character of which they treat, and from the critical ſituation of the preſent times, they ſhould ſo long have been withheld from the Public. A tranſlation of them appeared in France near two years ago, coming down to the year 1731. There can be no impropriety, that what has thus been ſubmitted to the peruſal of Europe, ſhould not be made acceſſible to thoſe to whom Dr. Franklin's language is native. The firſt part of the hiſtory of his life is tranſlated from that publication.

The ſtyle of theſe memoirs is uncommonly pleaſing. The ſtory is told with the moſt unreſerved ſincerity, and without any falſe colouring or ornament. We ſee, in every page, that the author examined his ſubject with the eye of a maſter, and related no incidents, the ſpring and origin of which he did not perfectly underſtand. It is this that gives ſuch exquiſite and uncommon perſpicuity to the detail, and delight in the review. The tranſlator has endeavoured, as he went along, to conceive the *probable manner in which* Dr. Franklin expreſſed his ideas *in his Engliſh manuſcript*, and he hopes to be forgiven

this enquiry ſhall occaſionally have ſubjected him to the charge of a ſtyle in any reſpect bald or low: to imitate the admirable ſimplicity of the author, is no eaſy taſk.

The Eſſays, which are now, for the firſt time, brought together from various reſources, will be found to be more miſcellaneous than any of Dr. Franklin's that have formerly been collected, and will therefore be more generally amuſing. Dr. Franklin tells us, in his Life, that he was an aſſiduous imitator of Addiſon; and from ſome of theſe papers it will be admitted that he was not an unhappy one. The public will be amuſed with following a great philoſopher in his relaxations, and obſerving in what reſpects philoſophy tends to elucidate and improve the moſt common ſubjects. The editor has purpoſely avoided ſuch papers as, by their ſcientifical nature, were leſs adapted for general peruſal. Theſe he may probably hereafter publiſh in a volume by themſelves.

He ſubjoins a letter from the late celebrated and amiable Dr. Price, to a gentleman in Philadelphia, upon the ſubject of Dr. Franklin's memoirs of his own life.

Hackney, June 19, 1790.

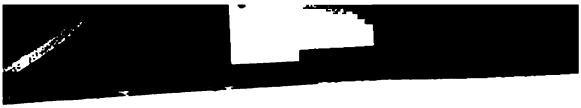
" DEAR SIR,

" I AM hardly able to tell you how kindly I take the letters with which you favour me. Your laſt, containing an account of the death of our excellent friend Dr. Franklin, and the circumſtances attending it, deſerves my particular gratitude. The account which he has left of his life will ſhow, in a ſtriking example, how a man, by talents, induſtry, and integrity, may riſe from obſcurity to the firſt eminence and conſequence in the world; but it brings his hiſtory no lower than the year 1757, and I underſtand that ſince he ſent over the copy, which I have read, he has been able to make no additions to it. It is with a melancholy regret I think of his death; but to death we are all bound by the irreverſible order of nature, *and in looking forward* to it, there is comfort in being a-

to reflect—that we have not lived in vain, and that
he useful and virtuous shall meet in a better country
nd the grave.

Dr. Franklin, in the last letter I received from him,
r mentioning his age and infirmities, observes, that it
been kindly ordered by the Author of nature, that,
e draw nearer the conclusion of life, we are furnish-
vith more helps to wean us from it, among which one
ie strongest is the loss of dear friends. I was delight-
vith the account you gave in your letter of the honour
n to his memory at Philadelphia, and by Congress;
yesterday I received a high additional pleasure, by
g informed that the National Assembly of France had
rmined to go in mourning for him.—What a glorious
e is opened there! The annals of the world furnish
arallel to it. One of the honours of our departed
id is, that he has contributed much to it.

I am, with great respect,
Your obliged and very
humble servant,
RICHARD PRICE."



LIFE

OF

DOCTOR BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,

&c.

MY DEAR SON,

I HAVE amuſed myſelf with collecting ſome little anecdotes of my family. You may remember the enquiries I made, when you were with me in England, among ſuch of my relations as were then living; and the journey I undertook for that purpoſe. To be acquainted with the particulars of my parentage and life, many of which are unknown to you, I flatter myſelf, will afford the ſame pleaſure to you as to me. I ſhall relate them upon paper: it will be an agreeable employment of a week's uninterrupted leiſure, which I promiſe myſelf during my preſent retirement in the country. There are alſo other motives which induce me to the undertaking. From the boſom of poverty and obſcurity, in which I drew my firſt breath and ſpent my earlieſt years, I have raiſed myſelf to a ſtate of opulence and to ſome degree of celebrity in the world. A *conſtant good* fortune has attended me thro

every period of life to my preſent advanced age; and my deſcendants may be deſirous of learning what were the means of which I made uſe, and which, thanks to the aſſiſting hand of providence, have proved ſo eminently ſucceſsful. They may alſo, ſhould they ever be placed in a ſimilar ſituation, derive ſome advantage from my narrative.

When I reflect, as I frequently do, upon the felicity I have enjoyed, I ſometimes ſay to myſelf, that, were the offer made me, I would engage to run again, from beginning to end, the ſame career of life. All I would aſk would be the privilege of an author, to correct in a ſecond edition, certain errors of the firſt. I could wiſh, likewiſe, if it were in my power, to change ſome trivial incidents and events for others more favourable. Were this however denied me, ſtill would I not decline the offer. But ſince a repetition of life cannot take place, there is nothing which, in my opinion, ſo nearly reſembles it, as to call to mind all its circumſtances, and, to render their remembrance more durable, commit them to writing. By thus employing myſelf, I ſhall yield to the inclination, ſo natural to old men, to talk of themſelves and their exploits, and may freely follow my bent, without being tireſome to thoſe who, from reſpect to my age, might think themſelves obliged to liſten to me; as they will be at liberty to read me or not as they pleaſe. In fine--and I may well avow it, ſince nobody would believe me were I to deny it—I ſhall perhaps, by this employment, gratify my vanity. Scarcely indeed have I ever heard or read *the introductory* phraſe, "*I may ſay without vanity*," *but ſome* ſtriking and characteriſtic [illegible]

of vanity has immediately followed. The generality of men hate vanity in others, however ſtrongly they may be tinctured with it themſelves; for myſelf, I pay obeiſance to it wherever I meet with it, perſuaded that it is advantageous, as well to the individual whom it governs, as to thoſe who are within the ſphere of its influence. Of conſequence, it would in many caſes, not be wholly abſurd, that a man ſhould count his vanity among the other ſweets of life, and give thanks to providence for the bleſſing.

And here let me with all humility acknowledge, that to divine providence I am indebted for the felicity I have hitherto enjoyed. It is that power alone which has furniſhed me with the means I have employed, and that has crowned them with ſucceſs. My faith in this reſpect leads me to hope, though I cannot count upon it, that the divine goodneſs will ſtill be exerciſed towards me, either by prolonging the duration of my happineſs to the cloſe of life, or by giving me fortitude to ſupport any melancholy reverſe, which may happen to me, as to ſo many others. My future fortune is unknown but to him in whoſe hand is our deſtiny, and who can make our very afflictions ſubſervient to our benefit.

One of my uncles, deſirous like myſelf, of collecting anecdotes of our family, gave me ſome notes, from which I have derived many particulars reſpecting our anceſtors. From theſe I learn, that they had lived in the ſame village (Eaton in Northamptonſhire) upon a freehold of about thirty acres, for the ſpace at leaſt of three hundred years. How long *they had* reſided there prior to that period, *my uncle had* been unable to diſcover; probably

ever since the institution of surnames, when they took the appellation of Franklin, which had formerly been the name of a particular order of individuals *.

This petty estate would not have sufficed for their subsistence, had they not added the trade of blacksmith, which was perpetuated in the family down to my uncle's time, the eldest son having been uni-

* As a proof that Franklin was anciently the common name of an order of rank in England, see Judge Fortescue, *De laudibus legum Angliæ*, written about the year 142, in which is the following passage, to shew that good juries might easily be formed in any part of England:

"Regio etiam illa, ita referta est *possessoribus terrarum* et agrorum, quod in ea, villulatam parva reperiri non poterit, in qua non est *miles*, *armiger*, vel "pater familias, qualis ibidem *franklin* vulgaritur nuncupatur, magnis ditatus possessionibus, nec non libere, "tenentes at alii *valecti* plurimi, suis patrimoniis sufficientes, ad faciendum juratam, in forma prænotata."

"Moreover, the same country is so filled and replenished with landed menne, that therein so small a thorpe "cannot be found wherein dwelleth not a knight, an esquire, or such a householder as is there commonly called "a *franklin*, enriched with great possessions; and also "other freeholders and many yeomen, able for their "livelihoods to make a jury in form aforementioned."

OLD TRANSLATION.

Chaucer too calls his country gentlemen a *franklin*, and, after describing his good housekeeping, thus characterises him:

This worthy franklin bore a purse of silk,
Fix'd to his girdle, white as morning milk.
Knight to the shire, first justice to th' assize,
To help the poor the doubtful to advise.
In all employments, generous, just he prov'd,
Renown'd for courtesy, by all belov'd.

formerly brought up to this employment: a cuſtom which both he and my father obſerved with reſpect to their eldeſt ſons.

In the reſearches I made at Eaton, I found no account of their births, marriages and deaths, earlier than the year 1555; the pariſh regiſter not extending farther back than that period. This regiſter informed me, that I was the youngeſt ſon of the youngeſt branch of the family, counting five generations. My grandfather, Thomas, who was born in 1598, living at Eaton till he was too old to continue his trade, when he retired to Banbury in Oxfordſhire, where his ſon John, who was a dyer, reſided, and with whom my father was apprenticed. He died, and was buried there: we ſaw his monument in 1758. His eldeſt ſon lived in the family houſe at Eaton, which he bequeathed, with the land belonging to it, to his only daughter; who, in concert with her huſband, Mr. Fiſher of Wellingborough, afterwards ſold it to Mr. Eſted, the preſent proprietor.

My grandfather had four ſurviving ſons, Thomas, John, Benjamin, and Joſias. I ſhall give you ſuch particulars of them as my memory will furniſh, not having my papers here, in which you will find a more minute account, if they are not loſt during my abſence.

Thomas had learned the trade of a blackſmith under his father; but poſſeſſing a good natural underſtanding, he improved it by ſtudy, at the ſolicitation of a gentleman by the name of Palmer, who was at that time the principal inhabitant of the village, and who encourged in like manner all my uncles to improve their minds. Thomas thus rendered himſelf competent to the functions of accoun-

try attorney; ſoon became an eſſential perſonage in the affairs of the village; and was one of the chief movers of every public enterprize, as well relative to the country as the town of Northampton. A variety of remarkable incidents were told us of him at Eaton. After enjoying the eſteem and patronage of Lord Halifax, he died Jan. 6, 1702, preciſely four years before I was born The recital that was made us of his life and character, by ſome aged perſons of the village, ſtruck you, I remember, as extraordinary, from its analogy to what you knew of myſelf. "Had he died," ſaid you," juſt four years later, one might have ſuppoſed a tranſmigration of ſouls."

John, to the beſt of my belief, was brought up to the trade of a wool-dyer.

Benjamin ſerved his apprenticeſhip in London to a ſilk-dyer. He was an induſtrious man: I remember him well; for, while I was a child, he joined my father at Boſton, and lived for ſome years in the houſe with us. A particular affection had always ſubſiſted between my father and him; and I was his godſon. He arrived to a great age. He left behind him two quarto volumes of poems in manuſcript, conſiſting of little fugitive pieces addreſſed to the friends. He had invented a ſhorthand, which he taught me, but having never made uſe of it, I have now forgotten it. He was a man of piety, and a conſtant attendant on the beſt preachers, whoſe ſermons he took a pleaſure in writing down according to the expeditory method he had deviſed. Many volumes were thus collected by him. he was alſo extremely fond of politics, *too much ſo* perhaps for his ſituation. I lately found in London a collection which he had made

of all the principal pamphlets relative to public affairs, from the year 1641 to 1717. Many volumes are wanting, as appears by the ſeries of numbers; but their ſtill remain eight in folio, and twenty four in quarto and octavo. The collection had fallen into the hands of a ſecond-hand bookſeller, who, knowing me by having ſold me ſome books, brought it to me. My uncle, it ſeems, had left it behind him on his departure for America, about fifty years ago. I found various notes of his writing in the margins. His grandſon, Samuel is now living at Boſton.

Our humble family had early embraced the Reformation. They remained faithfully attached during the reign of Queen Mary, when they were in danger of being moleſted on account of their zeal againſt popery. They had an Engliſh Bible, and, to conceal it the more ſecurely, they conceived the proſpect of faſtening it, open, with pack-threads acroſs the leaves, on the inſide of the lid of a cloſe-ſtool. When my great-grandfather wiſhed to read to his family, he reverſed the lid of the cloſe-ſtool upon his knees, and paſſed the leaves from one ſide to the other, which were held down on each by the pack-thread. One of the children was ſtationed at the door, to give notice if he ſaw the proctor (an officer of the ſpiritual court) make his appearance: in that caſe, the lid was reſtored to its place, with the Bible concealed under it as before. I had this anecdote from my uncle Benjamin.

The whole family preſerved its attachments to the Church of England till towards the cloſe of the reign of Charles II. when certain miniſters, who had been ejected as non-conformiſts, having held conventicles in Northamptonſhire, they were join-

ed by Benjamin and Joſias, who adhered to them ever after. The reſt of the family continued in the epiſcopal Church.

My father, Joſias, married early in life. He went, with his wife and three children, to New England about the year 1682. conventicles being at that time prohibited by law, and frequently diſturbed, ſome conſiderable perſons of his acquaintance determined to go to America, where they hoped to enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion, and my father was prevailed on to accompany them.

My father had alſo by the ſame wife four children born in America, and ten others by a ſecond wife, making in all ſeventeen. I remember to have ſeen thirteen ſeated together at his table, who all arrived to years of maturity, and were married. I was the laſt of the ſons, and the youngeſt child, excepting two daughters. I was born at Boſton in New England. My mother the ſecond wife, was Abiah Folger, daughter of Peter Folger, one of the firſt coloniſts of New England, of whom Cotton Mather makes honourable mention, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of that province, as "*a pious and learned Engliſhman,*" if I rightly recollect his expreſſions. I have been told of his having written a variety of little pieces; but there appears to be only one in print, which I met with many years ago. It was publiſhed in the year 1675, and is in familiar verſe, agreeable to the taſte of the times and the country. The author addreſſes himſelf to the governors for the time being, ſpeaks for liberty of conſcience, and in favour of the anabaptiſts, *quakers,* and other ſectaries, who had ſuffered perſecution. *To this* perſecution he attributes the ſucceſs

with the natives, and other calamities which afflicted the country, regarding them as the judgements of God in punishment of so odious an offence, and he exhorts the government to the repeal of laws so contrary to charity. The poem appeared to be written with a manly freedom and a pleasing simplicity. I recollect the six concluding lines, though I have forgotten the order of words of the two first: the sense of which was, that his censures were dictated by benevolence, and that, of consequence, he wished to be known as the author; because, said he, I hate from my very soul dissimulation:

From Sherburne*; where I dwell,
I therefore put my name,
Your friend who means you well,
PETER FOLGER.

My brothers were all put apprentices to different trades. With respect to myself, I was sent, at the age of eight years to a grammar school. My father destined me for the church, and already regarded me as the chaplain of the family. The promptitude with which from my infancy I had learned to read, for I do not remember to have been ever without this acquirement, and the encouragements of his friends, who assured him that I should one day certainly become a man of letters, confirmed him in this design. My uncle Benjamin approved also of the scheme, and promised to give me all his volumes of sermons, written, as I have said, in the short hand of his invention, if I would take the pains to learn it.

I remained however scarcely a year at grammar school, although, in this short interval, I had ri-

* *Town in the Island of Nantucket.*

ſen from the middle to the head of my claſs, from thence to the claſs immediately above, and was to paſs at the end of the year, to the one next in order. But my father, burthened with a numerous family, found that he was incapable, without ſubjecting himſelf to difficulties, of providing for the expence of a collegiate education; and conſidering beſides, as I heard him ſay to his friends, that perſons ſo educated were often poorly provided for, he renounced his firſt intentions, took me from the grammar ſchool, and ſent me to a ſchool for writing and arithmetic, kept by a Mr. George Brownwel, who was a ſkilful maſter, and ſucceeded very well in his profeſſion by employing gentle means only, and ſuch as were calculated to encourage his ſcholars. Under him I ſoon acquired an excellent hand; but I failed in arithmetic, and made therein no ſort of progreſs.

At ten years of age, I was called home to aſſiſt my father in his occupation, which was that of ſoap-boiler and tallow-chandler; a buſineſs to which he had ſerved no apprenticeſhip, but which he embrac'd on his arrival in New England, becauſe he found his own, that of a dyer, in too little requeſt to enable him to maintain his family. I was accordingly employed in cutting the wicks, filling the moulds, taking care of the ſhop, carrying meſſages, &c.

This buſineſs diſpleaſed me, and I felt a ſtrong inclination for a ſea life; but my father ſet his face againſt it. The vicinity of the water, however, gave me frequent opportunities of ventu ing myſelf both upon and within it, and I ſoon acquired *the art of ſwimming*, and of managing a boat.—*When embarked with* other children, the [illegible]

was commonly deputed to me, particularly on difficult occaſions; and, in every other project, I was almoſt always the leader of the troop, whom I ſometimes involved in embarraſſments. I ſhall give an inſtance of this, which demonſtrates an early diſpoſition of mind for public enterpriſes, though the one in queſtion was not conducted by juſtice.

The mill-pond was terminated on one ſide by a marſh, upon the borders of which we were accuſtomed to take our ſtand, at high water, to angle for ſmall fiſh. By dint of walking, we had converted the place into a perfect quagmire. My propoſal was to erect a wharf that ſhould afford us firm footing; and I pointed out to my companions a large heap of ſtones, intended for the building a new houſe near the marſh, and which were well adapted for our purpoſe. Accordingly, when the workmen retired in the evening, I aſſembled a number of my playfellows, and by labouring diligently, like ants, ſometimes four of us uniting our ſtrength to carry a ſingle ſtone, we removed them all, and conſtructed our little quay. The workmen were ſurpriſed the next morning at not finding their ſtones, which had been conveyed to our wharf. Enquiries were made reſpecting the authors of this conveyance; we were diſcovered; complaints were exhibited againſt us; many of us underwent correction on the part of our parents; and though I ſtrenuouſly defended the utility of the work, my father at length convinced me, that nothing which was not ſtrictly honeſt could be uſeful.

It will not, perhaps, be unintereſting to you to *know what ſort of* a man my father was. He h

an excellent conſtitution, was of a middle ſize, but well made and ſtrong, and extremely active in whatever he undertook. He deſigned with a degree of neatneſs, and knew a little of muſic. His voice was ſonorious and agreeable; ſo that when he ſung a pſalm or hymn with accompaniment of his violin, as was his frequent practice in an evening when the labours of the day were finiſhed, it was truly delightful to hear him. He was verſed alſo in mechanics, and could upon occaſion, uſe the tools of a variety of trades. But his greateſt excellence was a ſound underſtanding and ſolid judgement in matters of prudence, both in public and private life. In the former indeed he never engaged, becauſe his numerous family and the mediocrity of his fortune, kept him unremittingly employed in the duties of his profeſſion. But I very well remember that the leading men of the place uſed frequently to come and aſk his advice reſpecting affairs of the town, or of the church to which he belonged, and that they paid much deference to his opinion. Individuals were alſo in the habit of conſulting him in their private affairs, and he was often choſen arbiter between contending parties.

He was fond of having at his table, as often as poſſible, ſome friends or well informed neighbours capable of rational converſation, and he was always careful to introduce uſeful or ingenious to-
diſcourſe, which might tend to form the
f his children. By this means he early
l our attention to what was juſt, prudent.
ficial in the conduct of life. He never
the meats which appeared upon the ta-
diſcuſſed whether they were well or ill

dreſſed, of a good or bad flavour, high-ſeaſoned or otherwiſe, preferable or inferior to this or that diſh of a ſimilar kind. Thus accuſtomed, from my infancy, to the utmoſt inattention as to thoſe objects, I have always been perfectly regardleſs of what kind of food was before me; and I pay ſo little attention to it even now, that it would be a hard matter for me to recollect, a few hours after I had dined, of what my dinner had conſiſted. When travelling, I have particularly experienced the advantage of this habit; for it has often happened to me to be in company with perſons, who, having a more delicate, becauſe a more exerciſed taſte have ſuffered in many caſes conſiderable inconvenience, while, as to myſelf, I have had nothing to deſire.

My mother was likewiſe poſſeſſed of an excellent conſtitution. She ſuckled all her ten children and I never heard either her or my father complain of any other diſorder than that of which they died: my father at the age of eighty ſeven, and my mother at eighty-five. They are buried together at Boſton, where, a few years ago, I placed a marble over their grave, with this inſcription:

"Here lie
"JOSIAS FRANKLIN and ABIAH his wife: They
"lived together with reciprocal affection for fifty-
"nine years; and without private fortune, with-
"out lucrative employment, by aſſiduous labour
"and honeſt induſtry, deſcently ſupported a nu-
"merous family, and educated with ſucceſs, thir-
"teen children, and ſeven grand-children. Let
"this example, reader, encourage you diligently
"to *diſcharge* the duties of thy calling, and to
"*rely on the ſupport* of divine providence.

"He was pious and prudent,
"She diſcreet and virtuous.
"Their youngeſt ſon, from a ſentiment of filial
"duty, conſecrates this ſtone
"To their memory."

I perceive, by my rambling digreſſions, that I am growing old. But we do not dreſs for a private company as for a formal ball. This deſerves perhaps the name of negligence.

To return, I thus continued employed in my fathers trade for the ſpace of two years; that is to ſay, till I arrived at twelve years of age. About this time my brother John, who had ſerved his apprenticeſhip in London, having quitted my father, and being married and ſettled in buſineſs on his own account at Rhode Iſland, I was deſtined, to all appearance, to ſupply his place, and be a candle-maker all my life: but my diſlike of this occupation continuing, my father was apprehenſive, that, if a more agreeable one were not offered me, I might play the truant and eſcape to ſea; as, to his extreme mortification, my brother Joſias had done. He therefore took me ſometimes to ſee maſons, coopers, braziers, joiners, and other mechanics, employed at their work; in order to diſcover the bent of my inclination, and fix it if he could upon ſome occupation that might retain me on ſhore. I have ſince, in conſequence of theſe viſits, derived no ſmall pleaſure from ſeeing ſkilful workmen handle their tools; and it has proved of conſiderable benefit, to have acquired thereby ſufficient knowledge to be able to make little things *for myſelf*, when I have had no mechanic at hand, *and to conſtruct* ſmall machines for my experiments, *while the* idea I have conceived has been

freſh and ſtrongly impreſſed on my imagination.

My father at length decided that I ſhould be a cutler, and I was placed for ſome days upon trial with my couſin Samuel, ſon of my uncle Benjamin, who had learned this trade in London, and had eſtabliſhed himſelf at Boſton. But the premium he required for my apprenticeſhip diſpleaſing my father, I was recalled home.

From my earlieſt years I had been paſſionately fond of reading, and I laid out in books all the little money I could procure. I was particularly pleaſed with accounts of voyages. My firſt acquiſition was Bunyan's collection in ſmall ſeparate volumes. Theſe I afterwards ſold in order to buy an hiſtorical collection by R. Burton, which conſiſted of ſmall cheap volumes, amounting in all to about forty or fifty. My father's little library was principally made up of books of practical and polemical theology. I read the greateſt part of them. I have ſince often regretted, that at a time when I had ſo great a thirſt for knowledge, more eligible books had not fallen into my hands, as it was then a point decided that I ſhould not be educated for the church. There was alſo among my father's books Plutarch's Lives, in which I read continually, and I ſtill regard as advantageouſly employed the time I devoted to them. I found beſides a work of De Foe's, entitled, an Eſſay on Projects, from which, perhaps, I derived impreſſions that have ſince influenced ſome of the principal events of my life.

My inclination for books at laſt determined my father to make me a printer, though he had already *one ſon in that profeſſion.* My brother had *returned from England* in 1717 with a preſs

types, in order to eſtabliſh a printing-houſe at Boſton. This buſineſs pleaſed me much better than that of my father, though I had ſtill a predilection for the ſea. To prevent the effects which might reſult from this inclination, my father was impatient to ſee me engaged with my brother. I held back for ſome time; at length however I ſuffered myſelf to be perſuaded, and ſigned my indentures, being then only twelve years of age. It was agreed that I ſhould ſerve as apprentice to the age of twenty one, and ſhould receive journeyman's wages only during the laſt year.

In a very ſhort time I made great proficiency in this buſineſs, and became very ſerviceable to my brother. I had now an opportunity of procuring better books. The acquaintance I neceſſarily formed with bookſellers' apprentices, enable me to borrow a volume now and then, which I never failed to return punctually and without injury. How often has it happened to me to paſs the greater part of the night in reading by my bed-ſide, when the book had been lent me in the evening, and was to be returned the next morning, leſt it might be miſſed or wanted.

At length, Mr. Matthew Adams, an ingenious tradeſman, who had a handſome collection of books, and who frequented our printing-houſe, took notice of me. He invited me to ſee his library, and had the goodneſs to lend me any books I was deſirous of reading. I then took a ſtrange fancy for poetry, and compoſed ſeveral little pieces. My brother, thinking he might find his account in it, encouraged me and engaged me to write two ballads. One *called the Light-houſe* Tragedy, contained an ac*count of the ſhipwreck* of capt. Worthilake, &c.

of two daughters; the other was a ſailor's ſong on the capture of the noted pirate called *Teach*, or *Black-beard*. They were wretched verſes in point of ſtyle, mere blind-men's ditties. When printed, he diſpatched me about the town to ſell them, the firſt had a prodigious run, becauſe the event was recent, and had made a great noiſe.

My vanity was flattered by this ſucceſs; but my father checked my exultation, by ridiculing my productions, and telling me that verſifiers were always poor. I thus eſcaped the misfortune of being, probably a very wretched poet. But as the faculty of writing proſe has been of great ſervice to me in the courſe of my life, and principally contributed to my advancement, I ſhall relate by what means ſituated as I was, I acquired the ſmall ſkill I may poſſeſs in that way.

There was in the town another young man, a great lover of books, of the name of John Collins, with whom I was intimately connected. We frequently engaged in diſpute, and were indeed ſo fond of argumentation, that nothing was ſo agreeable to us as a war of words. This contentious temper, I would obſerve by the bye, is in danger of becoming a very bad habit, and frequently renders a man's company inſupportable, as being no otherwiſe capable of indulgence than by indiſcriminate contradiction. Independently of the acrimony and diſcord it introduces into converſation, it is often productive of diſlike, and even hatred, between perſons to whom friendſhip is indiſpenſably neceſſary. I acquired it by reading, while I lived with my father, books of religious controverſy. I have ſince remarked, that men of ſenſe ſeldom fall into this error; lawyers, ſcholars, and

guage, which was one of the greateſt objects of my ambition.

The time which I devoted to theſe exerciſes, and to reading, was the evening after my day's labour was finiſhed, the morning before it began, and Sundays when I could eſcape attending divine ſervice. While I lived with my father, he had inſiſted on my punctual attendance on public worſhip, and I ſtill indeed conſidered it as a duty, but a duty which I thought I had no time to practiſe.

When about ſixteen years of age, a work of Tryon fell into my hands, in which he recommends vegetable diet. I determined to obſerve it. My brother, being a bachelor, did not keep houſe, but boarded with his apprentices in a neighbouring family. My refuſing to eat animal food was found inconvenient, and I was often ſcolded for my ſingularity. I attended to the mode in which Tryon prepared ſome of his diſhes, particularly how to boil potatoes and rice, and make haſty puddings. I then ſaid to my brother, that if he would allow me per week half what he paid for my board, I would undertake to maintain myſelf. The offer was inſtantly embrac'd, and I ſoon found that of what he gave me I was able to ſave half. This was a new fund for the purchaſe of books; and other advantages reſulted to me from the plan. When my brother and his workmen left the printing-houſe to go to dinner, I remained behind; and diſpatching my frugal meal, which frequently conſiſted of a biſquit only or a ſlice of bread and a bunch of raiſins, or a bun from the paſtry cook's, with a glaſs of water, I had the reſt of the time, till their return, *for ſtudy; and my progreſs therein was proportioned to that clearneſs* of ideas, and quickneſs of

conception, which are the fruit of temperance in eating and drinking.

It was about this period that, having one day been put to the bluſh for my ignorance in the art of calculation, which I had twice failed to learn while at ſchool, I took Cocker's Treatiſe of Arithmetic, and went through it by myſelf with the utmoſt eaſe. I alſo read a book of Navigation by Seller and Sturmy, and made myſelf maſter of the little geometry it contains, but I never proceeded far in this ſcience. Nearly at the ſame time I read Locke on the Human Underſtanding, and the Art of Thinking by Meſſrs. du Port Royal.

While labouring to form and improve my ſtyle, I met with an Engliſh Grammar, which I believe was Greenwood's having at the end of it two little eſſays on rhetoric and logic. In the latter I found a model of diſputation after the manner of Socrates. Shortly after I procured Xenophon's work, entitled Memorable Things of Socrates, in which are various examples of the ſame method. Charmed to a degree of enthuſiaſm with this mode of diſputing, I adopted it, and renouncing blunt contradiction, and direct and poſitive argument, I aſſumed the character of a humble queſtioner. The peruſal of Shaftſbury and Collins had made me a ſceptic; and being previouſly ſo as to many doctrines of Chriſtianity, I found Socrates's method to be both the ſafeſt for myſelf, as well as the moſt embarraſſing to thoſe againſt whom I employed it. It ſoon afforded me ſingular pleaſure; I inceſſantly practiſed it; and became very adroit in obtaining, even from perſons of ſuperior underſtanding, conceſſions of which they did not foreſee the conſequences. Thus I involved them in difficulties from

which they were unable to extricate themſelves, and ſometimes obtained victories, which neither my cauſe not my arguments merited.

This method I continued to employ for ſome years; but I afterwards abandoned it by degrees, retaining only the habit of expreſſing myſelf with modeſt diffidence, and never making uſe, when I advanced any propoſition which might be controverted, of the words *certainly*, *undoubtealy*, or any others that might give the appearance of being obſtinately attached to my opinion. I rather ſaid I imagine, I ſuppoſe, or it appears to me, that ſuch a thing is ſo or ſo, for ſuch and ſuch reaſons; or it is ſo, if I am not miſtaken. This habit has, I think been of conſiderable advantage to me, when I have had occaſion to impreſs my opinion on the minds of others and perſuade them to the adoption of the meaſures I have ſuggeſted. And ſince the chief ends of converſation are, to inform or to be informed, to pleaſe or to perſuade, I could wiſh that intelligent and well-meaning men would not themſelves diminiſh the powers they poſſeſs of being uſeful, by a poſitive and preſumptuous manner of expreſſing themſelves, which ſcarcely ever fails to diſguſt the hearer, and is only calculated to excite oppoſition and defeat every purpoſe for which the faculty of ſpeech has been beſtowed upon man. In ſhort, if you wiſh to inform, a poſitive and dogmatical manner of advancing your opinion may provoke contradiction, and prevent your being heard with attention. On the other hand, if with a deſire of being informed, and of benefiting by the knowledge of others, you expreſs yourſelves as *being firmly attached* to your own opinions, *modeſt and ſenſible men*, who do not love diſputation,

will leave you in tranquil poſſeſſion of your errors. By following ſuch a method, you can rarely hope to pleaſe your auditors, conciliate their good-will, or work conviction on thoſe whom you may be deſirous of gaining over to your views. Pope judiciouſly obſerves,

Men muſt be taught as if you taught them not,
And things unknown propos'd as things forgot.

And in the ſame poem he afterwards adviſes us,

To ſpeak, tho' ſure, with ſeeming diffidence.

He might have added to theſe lines, one that he has coupled elſewhere, in my opinion, with leſs propriety. It is thus:

For want of decency is want of ſenſe.

If you aſk why I ſay with *leſs propriety*, I muſt give you the two lines together:

Immodeſt words admit of *no defence*,
For want of decency is want of ſenſe.

Now want of ſenſe, when a man has the misfortune to be ſo circumſtanced, it is not a kind of excuſe for want of modeſty? And would not the verſes have been more accurate, if they had been conſtructed thus:

Immodeſt words admit *but this defence*,
That want of decency is want of ſenſe.

But I leave the deciſion of this to better judges than myſelf.

In 1720, or 1721, my brother began to print a new public paper. It was the ſecond that made its appearance in America, and was entitled the *New England Courant*. The only one that exiſted before was the *Boſton News Letter*. Some of his friends, I remember, would have diſſuaded him *from this undertaking*, as a thing that was not likely *to ſucceed*; a ſingle newſpaper being, in their

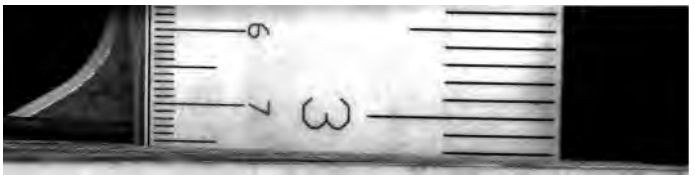
opinion ſufficient for all America. At preſent, however, in 1777, there is no leſs than twenty-five. But he carried his project into execution, and I was employed in diſtributing the copies to his cuſtomers, after having aſſiſted in compoſing and working them off.

Among his friends he had a number of literary characters, who, as an amuſement, wrote ſhort eſſays for the paper, which gave it reputation and increaſed its ſale. Theſe gentlemen came frequently to our houſe. I heard the converſation that paſſed, and the accounts they gave of the favourable reception of their writings with the public. I was tempted to try my hand among them; but, being ſtill a child as it were, I was fearful that my brother might be unwilling to print in his paper any performance of which he ſhould know me to be the author. I therefore contrived to diſguiſe my hand, and having written an anonymous piece, I placed it at night under the door of the printing-houſe, where it was found the next morning. My brother communicated it to his friends, when they came as uſual to ſee him, who read it, commented upon it within my hearing, and I had the exquiſite pleaſure to find that it met with their approbation, and that, in the various conjectures they made reſpecting the author, no one was mentioned who did not enjoy a high reputation in the country for talents and genius. I now ſuppoſed myſelf fortunate in my judges, and began to ſuſpect that they were not ſuch excellent writers as I had hitherto ſuppoſed them. Be that as it may, encouraged by this little adventure, I wrote and ſent to the preſs, in *the ſame way many* other pieces, which were equally *approved; keeping* the ſecret till my number

ſtock of information and knowledge for ſuch performances was pretty completely exhauſted, when I made myſelf known.

My brother, upon his diſcovery, began to entertain a little more reſpect for me; but he ſtill regarded himſelf as my maſter, and treated me like an apprentice. He thought himſelf entitled to the ſame ſervices from me as from any other perſon. On the contrary, I conceived that, in many inſtances, he was too rigorous, and that, on the part of a brother, I had a right to expect greater indulgence. Our diſputes were frequently brought before my father; and either my brother was generally in the wrong, or I was the better pleader of the two, for judgment was commonly given in my favour. But my brother was paſſionate, and often had recourſe to blows; a circumſtance which I took in very ill part. This ſevere and tyrannical treatment contributed, I believe, to imprint on my mind that averſion to arbritary power, which during my whole life I have ever preſerved. My apprenticeſhip became inſupportable to me, and I continually ſighed for an opportunity of ſhortening it, which at length unexpectedly offered.

An article inſerted in our paper upon ſome political ſubject which I have now forgotten, gave offence to the Aſſembly. My brother was taken into cuſtody, cenſured, and ordered into confinement for a month, becauſe, as I preſume, he would not diſcover the author. I was alſo taken up, and examined before the council; but, though I gave them no ſatisfaction, they contented themſelves with *reprimanding* and then diſmiſſed me; con*ſidering me probably* as bound, in quality of apprentice, to keep my maſter's ſecrets.



A penny ſav'd is two-pence clear;
A pin a day 's a groat a year.

THE WAY TO MAKE MONEY PLENTY IN EVERY MAN'S POCKET.

AT this time, when the general complaint is that—"money is ſcarce," it will be an act of kindneſs to inform the moneyleſs how they may reinforce their pockets. I will acquaint them with the true ſecret of money-catching—the certain way to fill empty purſes—and how to keep them always full. Two ſimple rules, well obſerved, will do the buſineſs.

Firſt, let honeſty and induſtry be thy conſtant companions; and,

Secondly, ſpend one penny leſs than thy clear gains.

Then ſhall thy hide-bound pocket ſoon begin to thrive, and will never again cry with the empty belly-ach; neither will creditors inſult thee, nor want oppreſs, nor hunger bite, nor nakedneſs freeze thee. The whole hemiſphere will ſhine brighter, and pleaſure ſpring up in every corn[illegible] thy heart. Now, therefore, embrace th[illegible] and be happy. Baniſh the bleak wind[illegible] from thy mind, and live independent [illegible] thou be a man, and not hide th[illegible] proach of the rich, nor ſuffer [illegible] little when the ſons of fort[illegible]

hand: for indep

much, is good [illegible]
ground with the [illegible]
then, be wise and [illegible]
the morning [illegible]
the evening [illegible]
bre[illegible]
ny, when [illegible]
paid: then [illegible]
and independence [illegible]
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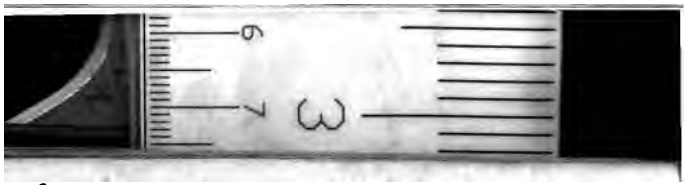


where the new lamp of Meſſrs. Quinquet and Lange was introduced, and much admired for its ſplendor; but a general enquiry was made, whether the oil it conſumed, was not in proportion to the light it afforded, in which caſe there would be no ſaving in the uſe of it. No one preſent could ſatisfy us in that point, which all agreed ought to be known, it being a very deſirable thing to leſſen, if poſſible, the expence of lighting our apartments, when every other article of family expence was ſo much augmented.

I was pleaſed to ſee this general concern for œconomy; for I love œconomy exceedingly.

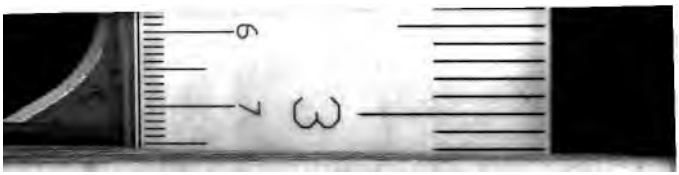
I went home, and to bed, three or four hours after midnight, with my head full of the ſubject. An accidental ſudden noiſe waked me about ſix in the morning, when I was ſurpriſed to find my room filled with light; and I imagined at firſt, that a number of thoſe lamps had been brought into it: but, rubbing my eyes, I perceived the light came in at the windows. I got up and looked out to ſee what might be the occaſion of it, when I ſaw the ſun juſt riſing above the horizon, from whence he poured his rays plentifully into my chamber, my domeſtic having negligently omitted the preceding evening to cloſe the ſhutters.

I looked at my watch, which goes very well and found that it was but ſix o'clock: and ſtill thinking it ſomething extraordinary that the ſun ſhould riſe ſo early, I looked into the almanack; where I found it ro be the hour given for his riſing on that day. I looked forward too, and found he was to riſe ſtill earlier every day till towards the end of June; and that at no time in the year he *retarded* his riſing ſo long as till eight o'clock.

Your readers, who with me have never ſeen any ſigns of ſunſhine before noon, and ſeldom regard the aſtronomical part of the almanack, will be as much aſtoniſhed as I was, when they hear of his riſing ſo early; and eſpecially when I aſſure them, *that he gives light as ſoon as he riſes.* I am convinced of this. I am certain of the fact. One cannot be more certain of any fact. I ſaw it with my own eyes. And having repeated this obſervation the three following mornings, I found always preciſely the ſame reſult.

Yet ſo it happens, that when I ſpeak of this diſcovery to others, I can eaſily perceive by their countenances, though they forbear expreſſing it in words, that they do no not quite believe me. One, indeed, who is a learned natural philoſopher, has aſſured me, that I muſt certainly be miſtaken as to the circumſtance of the light coming into my room: for it being well known, as he ſays, that there could be no light abroad at that hour, it follows that none could enter from without; and that of conſequence, my windows being accidentally left open, inſtead of letting in the light, had only ſerved to let out the darkneſs: and he uſed many ingenious arguments to ſhew me how I might, by that means, have been deceived. I own that he puzzled me a little, but he did not ſatisfy me; and the ſubſeqent obſervations I made, as above mentioned, confirmed me in my firſt opinion.

This event has given riſe, in my mind, to ſeveral ſerious and important reflections. I conſidered that, if I had not been awakened ſo early in the morning, I ſhould have ſlept ſix hours longer by the light of the ſun, and in exchange have lived



ſix hours the following night by candle-light; and the latter being a much more expenſive light than the former, my love of œconomy induced me to muſter up what little arithmetic I was maſter of, and to make ſome calculations, which I ſhall give you, after obſerving, that utility is, in my opinion, the teſt of value in matters of invention, and that a diſcovery which can be applied to no uſe, or is not good for ſomething, is good for nothing.

I took for the baſis of my calculation the ſuppoſition that there are 100,000 families in Paris, and that theſe families conſume in the night half a pound of bougies, or candles per hour. I think this is a moderate allowance, taking one family with another; for though I believe ſome conſume leſs, I know that many conſume a great deal more. Then eſtimating ſeven hours per day, as the medium quantity between the time of the ſun's riſing and ours, he riſing during the ſix following months from ſix to eight hours before noon, and there being ſeven hours of courſe per night in which we burn candles, the account will ſtand thus—

In the ſix months between the twentieth of March and the twentieth of September, there are

Nights - - - - - - - - -	183
Hours of each night in which we burn candles - - - - - - -	7
Multiplication gives for the total number of hours - - - - -	1,281
Theſe 1,281 hours multiplied by 100,000, the number of inhabitants, give - - - - -	128,100,0

*One hun*dred twenty eight millions

and one hundred thouſand hours, ſpent at Paris by candle-light, which, at half a pound of wax and tallow per hour, gives the weight of - - - - - 64,050,000

Sixty-four millions and fifty thouſand of pounds, which, eſtimating the whole at the medium price of thirty ſols the pound, makes the ſum of ninety-ſix millions and ſeventy-five thouſand livres tournois - - - - - 96,075,000

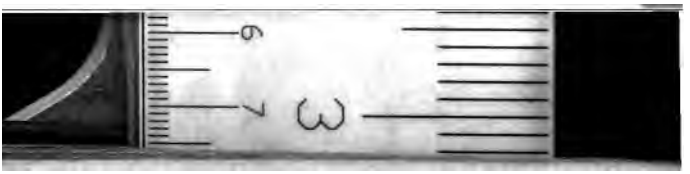
An immenſe ſum! that the city of Paris might ſave every year, by the œconomy of uſing ſunſhine inſtead of candles.

If it ſhould be ſaid, that the people are apt to be obſtinately attached to old cuſtoms, and that it will be difficult to induce them to riſe before noon, conſequently my diſcovery can be of little uſe; I anſwer, *Nil deſperandum*. I believe all who have common ſenſe, as ſoon as they have learnt from this paper that it is day-light when the ſun riſes, will contrive to riſe with him; and, to compel the reſt, I would propoſe the following regulations:

Firſt. Let a tax be laid of a louis per window, on every window that is provided with ſhutters ro keep out the light of the ſun.

Second. Let the ſame ſalutary operation of police be made uſe of to prevent our burning candles, that inclined us laſt winter to be more œconomical in burning wood; that is, let guards be placed in the ſhops of the wax and tallow-chandlers, and no family be permitted to be ſupplied with more than one pound of candles per week.

Third Let guards be poſted to ſtop all the coaches



es, &c. that would pafs the ſtreets after funſet, except thoſe of phyſicians, ſurgeons and midwives.

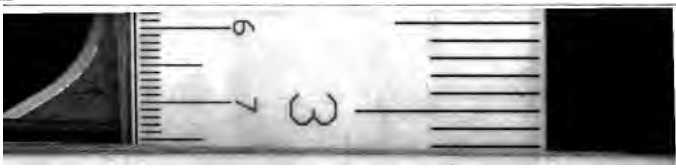
Fourth. Every morning as ſoon as the ſun riſes, let all the bells in every church be ſet ringing; and if that is not ſufficient, let cannon be fired in every ſtreet, and wake the ſluggards effectually, and make them open their eyes to ſee their true intereſt.

All the difficulty will be in the firſt two or three days; after which the reformation will be as natural and eaſy as the preſent irregularity: for, *ce n'eſt que le premier pas qui coute.* Oblige a man to riſe at four in the morning, and it is more than probable he ſhall go willingly to bed at eight in the evening; and, having had eight hours ſleep, he will riſe more willingly at four the morning following. But this ſum of ninety-ſix millions and ſeventy-five thouſand livres is not the whole of what may be ſaved by my œconomical project. You may obſerve, that I have calculated upon only one half of the year, and much may be ſaved in the other, tho' the days are ſhorter. Beſides, the immenſe ſtock of wax and tallow left unconſumed during the ſummer, will probably make candles much cheaper for the enſuing winter, and continue cheaper as long as the propoſed reformation ſhall be ſupported.

For the great benefit of this diſcovery, thus freely communicated and beſtowed by me on the public, I demand neither place, penſion, excluſive privilege, nor any other reward whatever. I expect only to have the honour of it. And yet I know *there are little* envious minds who will, as uſual, *deny me this*, and ſay that my invention was known *to the ancients*, and perhaps they may bring p

fages out of the old books in proof of it. I will not diſpute with theſe people that the ancients knew not the ſun would riſe at certain hours; they poſſibly had, as we have, almanacks that predicted it: but it does not follow from thence that they knew *he gave light as ſoon as he roſe.* This is what I claim as my diſcovery. If the ancients knew it, it muſt long ſince have been forgotten, for it certainly was unknown to the moderns, at leaſt to the Pariſians; which to prove I need uſe but one plain ſimple argument. They are as well inſtructed, judicious, and prudent a people as exiſt any where in the world, all profeſſing, like myſelf, to be lovers of œconomy; and, from the many heavy taxes required from them by the neceſſities of the ſtate, have ſurely reaſon to be œconomical. I ſay it is impoſſible that ſo ſenſible a people, under ſuch circumſtances, ſhould have lived ſo long by the ſmoky, unwholeſome, and enormouſly expenſive light of candles, if they had really known that they might have had as much pure light of the ſun for nothing. I am, &c.

AN ABONNE.



ON MODERN INNOVATIONS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, AND IN PRINTING.

To NOAH WEBSTER, *jun. Esq. at* HARTFORD.

Philadelphia, Dec. 26, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

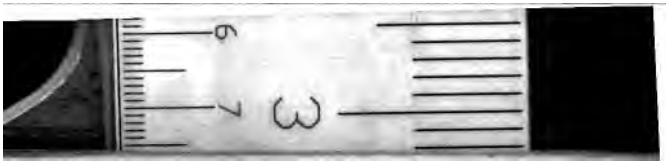
I RECEIVED, some time since, your *Dissertations on the English Language.* It is an excellent work, and will be greatly useful in turning the thoughts of our countrymen to correct writing. Please to accept my thanks for it, as well as for the great honour you have done me in its dedication. I ought to have made this acknowledgment sooner, but much indisposition prevented me.

I cannot but applaud your zeal for preserving the purity of our language both in its expression and pronunciation, and in correcting the popular errors several of our states are continually falling into with respect to both. Give me leave to mention some of them, though possibly they may already have occurred to you. I wish, however, that in some future publication of yours you would set a discountenancing mark upon them. The first I remember, is the word *improved.* When I left New-England in the year 1723, this word had never been used among us, as far as I know, but in the sense of *ameliorated*, or *made better*, except once in a very old book of Dr. Mather's, entitled, *Remarkable Providences.* As that man wrote a *very obscure* hand, I remember that when I read *that word* in his book, used instead of the word

employed, I conjectured that it was an error of the printer, who had mistaken a short *l* in the writing for an *r*, and a *y* with too short a tail for a *v*, whereby *employed* was converted into *improved*: but when I returned to Boston in 1733, I found this change had obtained favour, and was then become common; for I met with it often in perusing the newspapers, where it frequently made an appearance rather ridiculous. Such, for instance, as the advertisement of a country house to be sold, which had been many years *improved* as a tavern; and in the character of a deceased country gentleman, that he had been, for more than thirty years, *improved* as justice of the peace. This use of the word *improve* is peculiar to New England, and not to be met with among any other speakers of English, either on this or the other side of the water.

During my late absence in France, I find that several other new words have been introduced into our parliamentary language. For example, I find a verb formed from the substantive *notice*. *I should not have* noticed *this, were it not that the gentleman*, &c. Also another verb from the substantive *advocate*; *The gentleman who* advocates, *or who has* advocated *that motion*, &c. Another from the substantive *progress*, the most awkward and abominable of the three: *The committee having* progressed, *resolved to adjourn*. The word *opposed*, though not a new word, I find used in a new manner, as, *The gentlemen who are* opposed *to this measure, to which I have also myself always been* opposed. If you should happen to be of my opinion with respect to these innovations, you will use *your* authority in reprobating them.

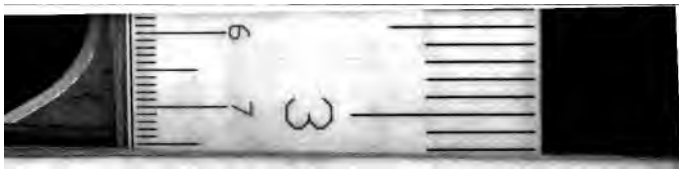
The Latin language, long the vehicle used



diſtributing knowledge among the different nations of Europe, is daily more and more neglected; and one of the modern tongues, viz. French, ſeems in point of univerſality, to have ſupplied its place. It is ſpoken in all the courts of Europe; and moſt of the literati, thoſe even who do not ſpeak it, have acquired knowledge of it, to enable them eaſily to read the books that are written in it. This gives a conſiderable advantage to that nation. It enables its authors to inculcate and ſpread through other nations, ſuch ſentiments and opinions, on important points, as are moſt conducive to its intereſts, or which may contribute to its reputation, by promoting the common intereſts of mankind. It is, perhaps, owing to its being written in French, that Voltaire's Treatiſe on Toleration has had ſo ſudden and ſo great an effect on the bigotry of Europe, as almoſt entirely to diſarm it. The general uſe of the French language has likewiſe a very advantageous effect on the profits of the book-ſelling branch of commerce, it being well known, that the more copies can be ſold that are ſtruck off from one compoſition of types, the profits increaſe in a much greater proportion than they do in making a greater number of pieces in any other kind of manufacture. And at preſent there is no capital town in Europe without a French book-ſeller's ſhop correſponding with Paris. Our Engliſh bids fair to obtain the ſecond place. The great body of excellent printed ſermons in our language, and the freedom of our writings on political ſubjects, have induced a great number of divines of different ſects and nations, as well as gentlemen *concerned in* public affairs to ſtudy it, ſo far at *leaſt as to* read it. And if we were to endeavour

the facilitating its progreſs, the ſtudy of our tongue might become much more general. Thoſe who have employed ſome part of their time in learning a new language, muſt have frequently obſerved, that while their acquaintance with it was imperfect, difficulties, ſmall in themſelves, operated as great ones in obſtructing their progreſs. A book, for example, ill printed, or a pronunciation in ſpeaking not well articulated, would render a ſentence unintelligible, which from a clear print, or a diſtinct ſpeaker, would have been immediately comprehended. If, therefore, we would have the benefit of ſeeing our language more generally known among mankind, we ſhould endeavour to remove all the difficulties, however ſmall, that diſcourage the learning of it. But I am ſorry to obſerve, that of late years, thoſe difficulties, inſtead of being diminiſhed, have been augmented.

In examining the Engliſh books that were printed between the reſtoration and the acceſſion of George the Second, we may obſerve, that all ſubſtantives were begun with a capital, in which we imitated our mother tongue, the German. This was more particularly uſeful to thoſe who were not well acquainted with the Engliſh, there being ſuch a prodigious number of our words that are both verbs and ſubſtantives, and ſpelt in the ſame manner, though often accented differently in pronunciation. This method has, by the fancy of printers, of late years, been entirely laid aſide; from an idea, that ſuppreſſing the capitals ſhews the character to greater advantage; thoſe letters, prominent above the line, diſturbing its even, regular appearance. The effect of this change is ſo conſiderable, that a learned man in France, who

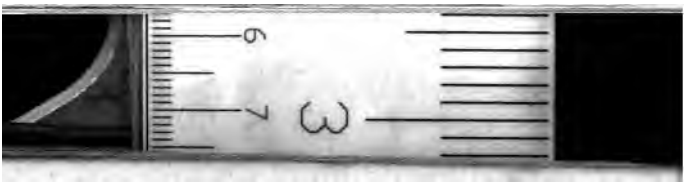


uſed to read our books, though not perfectly acquainted with our language, in converſation with me on the ſubject of our authors, attributed the greater obſcurity he found in our modern books, compared with thoſe written in the period above mentioned, to change of ſtyle for the worſe in our writers; of which miſtake I convinced him, by marking for him each ſubſtantive with a capital, in a paragraph, which he then eaſily underſtood, though before he could not comprehend it. This ſhews the inconvenience of that pretended improvement.

From the ſame fondneſs for an uniform and even appearance of characters in the line, the printers have of late alſo baniſhed the italic types, in which words of importance to be attended to in the ſenſe of the ſentence, and words on which an emphaſis ſhould be put in reading, uſed to be printed. And lately another fancy has induced other printers to uſe the round *s* inſtead of the long one, which formerly ſerved well to diſtinguiſh a word readily by its varied appearance. Certainly the omitting this prominent letter makes a line appear more even, but it renders it leſs immediately legible; as the paring of all men's noſes might ſmooth and level their faces, but would render their phyſiognomies leſs diſtinguiſhable. Add to all theſe improvements backwards, another modern fancy, that *grey* printing is more beautiful than black. Hence the Engliſh new books are printed in ſo dim a character, as to be read with difficulty by old eyes, unleſs in a very ſtrong light and with good glaſſes. Whoever compares a volume of the Gentleman's Magazine, printed between the years 1731 and 1740, with one of thoſe printed in the

laſt ten years, will be convinced of the much greater degree of perſpicuity given by black than by the grey. Lord Chelterfield pleaſantly remarked this difference to Faulkener, the printer of the Dublin Journal, who was vainly making encomiums on his own paper, as the moſt complete of any in the world. "But Mr. Faulkener," ſays my lord, "don't you think it might be ſtill farther improved, by uſing paper and ink not quite ſo near of a colour."—For all theſe reaſons I cannot but wiſh that our American printers would, in their editions, avoid theſe fancied improvements, and thereby render their works more agreeable to foreigners in Europe, to the great advantage of our bookſelling commerce.

Farther, to be more ſenſible of the advantage of clear and diſtinct printing, let us conſider the aſſiſtance it affords in reading well aloud to an auditory. In ſo doing the eye generally ſlides forward three or four words before the voice. If the ſight clearly diſtinguiſhes what the coming words are, it gives time to alter the modulation of the voice, to expreſs them properly. But if they are obſcurely printed, or diſguiſed by omitting the capitals and long *ſ*'s, or otherwiſe, the reader is apt to modulate wrong, and finding he has done ſo, he is obliged to go back and begin the ſentence again; which leſſens the pleaſure of the hearers. This leads me to mention an old error in our mode of printing. We are ſenſible that when a queſtion is met with in the reading, there is a proper variation to be uſed in the management of the voice. We have, therefore, a point, called an interrogation, affixed to the queſtion, in order to diſtinguiſh it. But this is abſurdly placed at



its end, ſo that the reader does not diſcover it till he finds that he has wrongly modulated his voice, and is therefore obliged to begin again the ſentence. To prevent this, the Spaniſh printers, more ſenſibly, place an interrogation at the beginning as well as at the end of the queſtion. We have another error of the ſame kind in printing plays, where ſomething often occurs that is marked as ſpoken *aſide*. But the word *aſide* is placed at the end of the ſpeech, when it ought to precede it, as a direction to the reader, that he may govern his voice accordingly. The practice of our ladies in meeting five or ſix together, to form little buſy parties, where each is employed in ſome uſeful work, while one reads to them, is ſo commendable in itſelf, that it deſerves the attention of authors and printers to make it as plaſing as poſſible, both to the reader and hearers.

My beſt wiſhes attend you, being, with ſincere eſteem,

Sir,
Your moſt obedient and
very humble ſervant,
B. FRANKLIN.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE HIGHEST COURT OF JUDICATURE IN PENNSYLVANIA, VIZ.

THE COURT OF THE PRESS.

Power of this court.

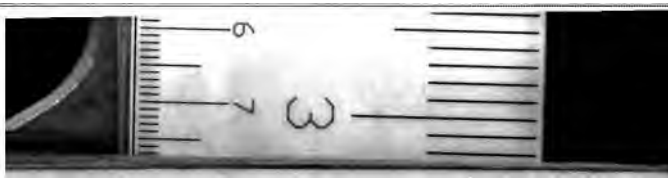
IT may receive and promulgate accuſations of all kinds, againſt all perſons and characters among the citizens of the ſtate, and even againſt all inferior courts; and may judge, ſentence, and condemn to infamy, not only private individuals, but public bodies, &c. with or without enquiry or hearing, at the court's diſcretion.

Whoſe favour, or for whoſe emolument this court is eſtabliſhed.

In favour of about one citizen in five hundred, who, by education, or practice in ſcribbling, has acquired a tolerable ſtyle as to grammar and conſtruction, ſo as to bear printing; or who is poſſeſſed of a preſs and a few types. This five hundredth part of the citizens have the privilege of accuſing and abuſing the other four hundred and ninety-nine parts at their pleaſure; or they may hire out their pens and preſs to others, for that purpoſe.

Practice of this court.

It is not governed by any of the rules of the common courts of law. The accuſed is allowed no grand jury to judge of the truth of the accuſation before it is publicly made; nor is the name



of the accuſer made known to him; nor has he an opportunity of confronting the witneſſes againſt him, for they are kept in the dark, as in the Spaniſh court of inquiſition. Nor is there any petty jury of his peers ſworn to try the truth of the charges. The proceedings are alſo ſometimes ſo rapid, that an honeſt good citizen may find himſelf ſuddenly and unexpectedly accuſed, and in the ſame morning judged and condemned, and ſentence pronounced againſt him that he is a rogue and a villian. Yet if an officer of this court receives the ſlighteſt check for miſconduct in this his office, he claims immediately the rights of a free citizen by the conſtitution, and demands to know his accuſer, to confront the witneſſes, and to have a fair trial by a jury of his peers.

The foundation of its authority.

It is ſaid to be founded on an article in the ſtate conſtitution, which eſtabliſhes the liberty of the preſs—a liberty which every Pennſylvanian would fight and die for, though few of us, I believe, have diſtinct ideas of its nature and extent. It ſeems, indeed, ſomewhat like the liberty of the preſs, that felons have, by the common law of England before conviction; that is, to be either preſſed to death or hanged. If, by the liberty of the preſs, were underſtood merely the liberty of diſcuſſing the propriety of public meaſures and political opinions, let us have as much of it as you pleaſe; but if it means the liberty of affronting, calumniating, and defaming one another, I, for my part, own myſelf willing to part with my ſhare of it, whenever our legiſlators ſhall pleaſe to alter the law: and ſhall cheerfully conſent to exchange my liber-

ty of abuſing others, for the privilege of not being abuſed myſelf.

By whom this court is commiſſioned or conſtituted.

It has not any commiſſion from the ſupreme executive council, who might previouſly judge of the abilities, integrity, knowledge, &c. of the perſons to be appointed to this great truſt of deciding upon the characters and good fame of the citizens: for this court is above that council, and may accuſe, judge, and condemn it at pleaſure. Nor is it hereditary, as is the court of dernier reſort in the peerage of England. But any man who can procure pen, ink, and paper, with a preſs, a few types, and a huge pair of blacking balls, may commiſſionate himſelf, and his court is immediately eſtabliſhed in the plenary poſſeſſion and exerciſe of its rights. For if you make the leaſt complaint of the judge's conduct, he daubs his blacking balls in your face wherever he meets you and beſides tearing your private character to ſplinters, marks you out for the odium of the public, as an enemy to the liberty of the preſs.

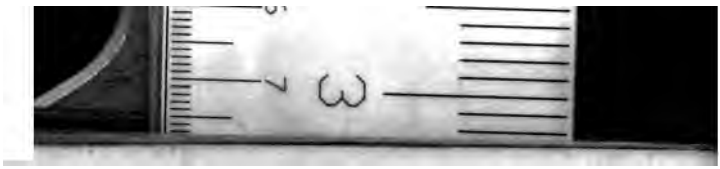
Of the natural ſupport of this court.

Its ſupport is founded in the depravity of ſuch minds as have not been mended by religion, nor improved by good education.

There is a luſt in man no charm can tame,
Of loudly publiſhing his neighbour's ſhame.

Hence,

On eagles' wings, immortal, ſcandals fly,
While virtuous actions are but born and die.
DRYDEN.



Whoever feels pain in hearing a good character of his neighbour, will feel a pleaſure in the reverſe. And of thoſe who deſpairing to riſe to diſtinction by their virtues, are happy if others can be depreſſed to a level with themſelves, there are a number ſufficient in every great town to maintain one of theſe courts by their ſubſcription. A ſhrewd obſerver once ſaid, that in walking the ſtreets of a ſlippery morning, one might ſee where the good-natured people lived, by the aſhes thrown on the ice before the doors: probably he would have formed a different conjecture of the temper of thoſe whom he might find engaged in ſuch ſubſcriptions.

Of the checks proper to be eſtabliſhed againſt the abuſes of power in thoſe courts.

Hitherto there are none. But ſince ſo much has been written and publiſhed on the federal conſtitution; and the neceſſity of checks, in all other parts of good government, has been ſo clearly and learnedly explained, I find myſelf ſo far enlightened as to ſuſpect ſome check may be proper in this part alſo: but I have been at a loſs to imagine any that may not be conſtrued an infringment of the ſacred liberty of the preſs. At length, however, I think I have found one, that, inſtead of diminiſhing general liberty, ſhall augment it; which is, by reſtoring to the people a ſpecies of liberty of which they have been deprived by our law, I mean the liberty of the cudgel! In the rude ſtate of ſociety, prior to the exiſtence of laws, if one man gave another ill language, the affronted perſon might return it by a box on the ear; and if repeated, by a good drubbing; and this without offending againſt any law: but now the right of

making ſuch returns is denied, and they are puniſhed as breeches of the peace, while the right of abuſing ſeems to remain in full force; the laws made againſt it being rendered ineffectual by the liberty of the preſs.

My propoſal then is, to leave the liberty of the preſs untouched, to be exerciſed in its full extent, force, and vigour, but to permit the liberty of the cudgel to go with it, *pari paſſu*. Thus, my fellow citizens, if an impudent writer attacks your reputation—dearer perhaps to you than your life, and puts his name to the charge, you may go to him as openly and break his head. If he conceals himſelf behind the printer, and you can nevertheleſs diſcover who he is, you may in like manner, waylay him in the night, attack him behind, and give him a good drubbing. If your adverſary hires better writers than himſelf, to abuſe you more effectually, you may hire brawny porters, ſtronger than yourſelf, to aſſiſt you in giving him a more effectual drubbing. Thus far goes my project, as to a *private* reſentment and retribution. But if the public ſhould ever happen to be affronted, as it ought to be, with the conduct of ſuch writers, I would not adviſe proceeding immediately to theſe extremities, but that we ſhould in moderation content ourſelves with tarring and feathering, and toſſing them in a blanket.

If, however, it ſhould be thought that this propoſal of mine may diſturb the public peace, I would then humbly recommend to our legiſlators to take up the conſideration of both liberties, that of the preſs, and that of the cudgel; and by an explicit law mark their extent and limits; and at the *ſame* time that they ſecure the perſon of a ci-

zen from aſſults, they would likewiſe provide for the ſecurity of his reputation.

PAPER: A POEM.

SOME wit of old—ſuch wits of old there were—
Whoſe hints ſhow'd meaning, whoſe alluſions care,
By one brave ſtroke to mark all human-kind,
Call'd clear blank paper ev'ry infant mind;
When ſtill, as op'ning ſenſe her dictates wrote,
Fair virtue put a ſeal, or vice a blot.
The thought was happy, pertinent, and true;
Methinks a genius might the plan purſue,
I, (can you pardon my preſumption? I—)
No wit, no genius, yet for once will try.
Various the papers various wants produce,
The wants of faſhon, elegance, and uſe.
Men are as various: and, if right I ſcan,
Each ſort of *paper* repreſents ſome *man*.
Pray note the fop—half powder and half lace—
Nice, as a band-box were his dwelling place;
He's the *gilt paper*, which apart you ſtore,
And lock from vulgar hands in the 'ſcrutoire.
Mechanics, ſervants, farmers, and ſo forth,
Are *coſy paper* of inferior worth;
Leſs priz'd, more uſeful, for your deſk decreed,
Free to all pens, and prompt at ev'ry need.
The wretch whom av'rice bids to pinch and ſpare,
Starve, cheat, and pilfer, to enrich an heir,

Is coarſe *brown paper;* ſuch as pedlars chooſe
To wrap up wares, which better men will uſe.

Take next the miſer's contraſt, who deſtroys
Health, fame, and fortune, in a round of joys.
Will any paper match him? Yes, thro'out,
H' s a true *ſinking paper*, paſt all doubt.

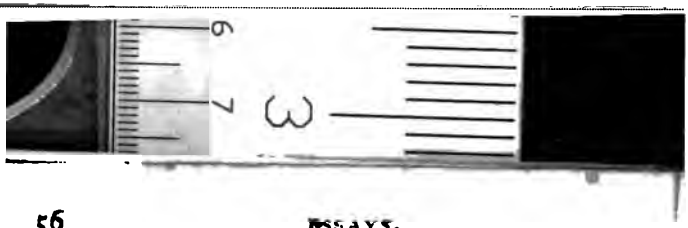
The retail politician's anxious thought
Deems *this* ſide always right, and that ſtark nought;
He foams with cenſure; with applauſe he raves—
A dupe to rumours, and a tool of knaves;
He'll want to type his weakneſs to proclaim,
While ſuch a thing as *fools-cap* has a name.

The haſty gentleman, whoſe blood runs high,
Who picks a quarrel, if you ſtep awry,
Who can't a jeſt, or hint, or look endure:
What's he? What? *Touch-paper* to be ſure.

What are our poets, take them as they fall,
Good, bad, rich, poor, much read, not read at all;
Them and their works in the ſame claſs you'll find;
They are the mere *waſte-paper* of mankind.

Obſerve the maiden, innocently ſweet,
She's fair *white-paper*, an unſullied ſheet;
On which the happy man whom fate ordains,
May write his *name*, and take her for his pains.

One inſtance more, and only one I'll bring;
'Tis the *great man* who ſcorns a little thing,
Whoſe thoughts, whoſe deeds, whoſe maxims are his own,
Form'd on the feelings of his heart alone:
True genuine *royal-paper* is his breaſt;
Of all the kinds moſt precious, pureſt, beſt.



ON THE ART OF SWIMMING.

*In anſwer to ſome inquiries of M. Dubourg * on the ſubject.*

I AM apprehenſive that I ſhall not be able to find leiſure for making all the diſquiſitions and experiments which would be deſirable on this ſubject. I muſt, therefore, content myſelf with a few remarks.

The ſpecific gravity of ſome human bodies, in compariſon to that of water, has been examined by M. Robinſon, in our Philoſophical Tranſactions, volume 50, page 30, for the year 1757. He aſſerts, that fat perſons with ſmall bones float moſt eaſily upon water.

The diving bell is accurately deſcribed in our Tranſactions.

When I was a boy, I made two oval pallets, each about ten inches long, and ſix broad, with a hole or the thumb, in order to retain it faſt in the palm of my hand. They much reſemble a painter's pallets. In ſwimming I puſhed the edges of theſe forward, and I ſtruck the water with their flat ſurfaces as I drew them back. I remember I ſwam faſter by means of theſe pallets, but they fatigued my wriſts.—I alſo fitted to the ſoles of my feet a kind of ſandals; but I was not ſatisfied with them, becauſe I obſerved that the ſtroke is partly given with the inſide of the feet and the ancles, and not entirely with the ſoles of the feet.

* *Tranſlator* of Dr. Franklin's works into French.

We have here waiſtcoats for ſwimming, which are made of double ſail-cloth, with ſmall pieces of cork quilted in between them.

I know nothing of the *ſcaphandre* of M. de la Chappelle.

I know by experience that it is a great comfort to a ſwimmer, who has a conſiderable diſtance to go, to turn himſelf ſometimes on his back, and to vary in other reſpects the means of procuring a progreſſive motion.

When he is ſeized with the cramp in the leg, the method of driving it away is to give to the parts affected a ſudden, vigorous, and violent ſhock; which he may do in the air as he ſwims on his back.

During the great heats of ſummer there is no danger in bathing, however warm we may be, in rivers which have been thoroughly warmed by the ſun. But to throw oneſelf into cold ſpring water, when the body has been heated by exerciſe in the ſun, is an imprudence which may prove fatal. I once knew an inſtance of four young men, who, having worked at harveſt in the heat of the day, with a view of refreſhing themſelves plunged into a ſpring of cold water: two died upon the ſpot, a third the next morning, and the fourth recovered with great difficulty. A copious draught of cold water, in ſimilar circumſtances, is frequently attended with the ſame effect in North America.

The exerciſe of ſwimming is one of the moſt healthy and agreeable in the world. After having ſwam for an hour or two in the evening, one ſleeps coolly the whole night, even during the moſt ardent heat of ſummer. Perhaps the pores being *cleanſed, the* inſenſible perſpiration increaſes and *occaſions this* coolneſs.—It is certain that mu

[illegible] they would likewise provide [illegible] the security of his reputation.

PAPER A POEM.

SOME wit of old—such wits of old there were
Whose hints show'd meaning, whose allusion care,
By one brave stroke to mark all human-kind,
Call'd clear blank paper ev'ry infant mind;
When this, as opening sense her dictates wrote,
Fair virtue put a seal, or vice a blot.
The thought was happy, pertinent, and true
Methinks a genius might the plan pursue,
I, gain you pardon my presumption? I—)
No wit, no genius, yet for once will try.
Various the papers various wants produce,
The wants of fashion, elegance, and use.
Men are as various: and, if right I scan,
Each sort of *paper* represents some *man*.
Pray note the fop—half powder and half lace—
Nice, as a band-box were his dwelling place;
He's the *gilt paper*, which apart you store,
And lock from vulgar hands in the scrutoire.
Merchants, servants, farmers, and so forth,
Are *cry paper* of inferior worth;
Less prin'd, more useful, for your desk decreed,
Free to all pens, and prompt at ev'ry need.
The wretch whom ev'ry bids to pinch and spare
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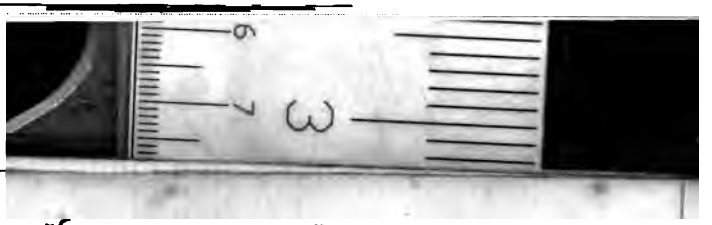

ON THE ART OF SWIMMING.

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I AM apprehensive that I shall not be able to find leisure for making all the disquisitions and experiments which would be desirable on this subject. I must, therefore, content myself with a few remarks.

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ſwimming is the means of ſtopping a diarrhœa, and even of producing a conſtipation. With reſpect to thoſe who do not know how to ſwim, or who are affected with a diarrhœa at a ſeaſon which does not permit them to uſe that exerciſe, a warm bath, by cleanſing and purifying the ſkin, is found very ſalutary, and often effects a radical cure. I ſpeak from my own experience, frequently repeated, and that of others to whom I have recommended this.

You will not be diſpleaſed if I conclude theſe haſty remarks by informing you, that as the ordinary method of ſwimming is reduced to the act of rowing with the arms and legs, and is conſequently a laborious and fatiguing operation when the ſpace of water to be croſſed is conſiderable; there is a method in which a ſwimmer may paſs to great diſtances with much facility by means of a ſail. This diſcovery I fortunately made by accident, and in the following manner:

When I was a boy I amuſed myſelf one day with flying a paper kite; and approaching the bank of a pond, which was near a mile broad, I tied the ſtring to a ſtake, and the kite aſcended to a very conſiderable height above the pond, while I was ſwimming. In a little time, being deſirous of amuſing myſelf with my kite, and enjoying at the ſame time the pleaſure of ſwimming, I returned; and looſing from the ſtake the ſtring with the little ſtick which was faſtened to it, went again into the water, where I found, that, lying on my back, and holding the ſtick in my hands, I was drawn along the ſurface of the water in a very agreeable manner. Having then engaged another boy to *carry my* clothes round the pond to a place wh

I pointed out to him on the other ſide, I began to croſs the pond with my kite, which carried me quite over without the leaſt fatigue, and with the greateſt pleaſure imaginable. I was only obliged occaſionally to halt a little in my courſe, and reſiſt its progreſs, when it appeared that, by following too quick, I lowered the kite too much; by doing which occaſionally I made it riſe again. I have never ſince that time practiſed this ſingular mode of ſwimming, though I think it not impoſſible to croſs in this manner from Dover to Calais. The packet-boat, however, is ſtill preferable.

NEW MODE OF BATHING.

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS TO M. DUBOURG.

London, July 28, 1768.

I GREATLY approve the epithet you give, in your letter of the 8th of June, to the new method of treating the ſmall-pox, which you call the *tonic* or bracing method; I will take occaſion, from it, to mention a practice to which I have accuſtomed myſelf. You know the cold bath has long been in vogue here as a tonic: but the ſhock of the cold water has always appeared to me, generally ſpeaking, as too violent; and I have found it much more agreeable to my conſtitution to bathe in another element, I mean cold air. With this view I riſe early almoſt every morning, and go in

my chamber without any clothes whatever, half an hour or an hour, according to the ſeaſon, either reading or writing. This practice is not in the leaſt painful, but, on the contrary, agreeable; and if I return to bed afterwards, before I dreſs myſelf, as ſometimes happens, I make a ſupplement to my night's reſt of one or two hours of the moſt pleaſing ſleep that can be imagined. I find no ill conſequences whatever reſulting from it, and that at leaſt it does not injure my health, if it does not in fact contribute much to its preſervation. I ſhall therefore call it for the future a *bracing* or *tonic* bath.

March 10, 1773.

I ſhall not attempt to explain why damp clothes occaſion colds, rather than wet ones, becauſe I doubt the fact: I imagine that neither the one nor the other contribute to this effect, and that the cauſes of colds are totally independent of wet and even of cold. I propoſe writing a ſhort paper on this ſubject, the firſt leiſure moment I have at my diſpoſal. In the mean time I can only ſay, that having ſome ſuſpicions that the common notion, which attributes to cold the property of ſtopping the pores and obſtructing perſpiration, was ill-founded, I engaged a young phyſician, who is making ſome experiments with Sanctorius's balance, to eſtimate the different proportions of his perſpiration, when remaining one hour quite naked, and another warmly clothed. He purſued the experiment in this alternate manner for eight hours ſucceſſively, and found his perſpiration almoſt double during thoſe hours in which he was naked.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE GENERALLY PREVAILING DOCTRINES OF LIFE AND DEATH.

TO THE SAME.

YOUR obſervations on the cauſes of death, and the experiments which you propoſe for recalling to life thoſe who appear to be killed by lightning, demonſtrate equally your ſagacity and humanity. It appears that the doctrines of life and death, in general, are yet but little underſtood.

A toad, buried in ſand, will live, it is ſaid, until the ſand becomes petrified; and then, being incloſed in the ſtone, it may ſtill live for we know not how many ages. The facts which are cited in ſupport of this opinion, are too numerous and too circumſtantial not to deſerve a certain degree of credit. As we are accuſtomed to ſee all the animals with which we are acquainted eat and drink, it appears to us difficult to conceive how a toad can be ſupported in ſuch a dungeon. But if we reflect, that the neceſſity of nouriſhment, which animals experience in their ordinary ſtate, proceeds from the continual waſte of their ſubſtance by perſpiration: it will appear leſs incredible that ſome animals in a torpid ſtate, perſpiring leſs becauſe they uſe no exerciſe, ſhould have leſs need of aliment; and that others, which are covered with ſcales or ſhells, which ſtop perſpiration, ſuch as land and ſea turtles, ſerpents, and ſome ſpecies of fiſh, ſhould be able to ſubſiſt a conſiderable time

without any nouriſhment whatever. A plant, with its flowers, fades and dies immediately, if expoſed to the air without having its roots immerſed in a humid ſoil, from which it may draw a ſufficient quantity of moiſture, to ſupply that which exhales from its ſubſtance, and is carried off continually by the air. Perhaps, however, if it were buried in quickſilver, it might preſerve, for a conſiderable ſpace of time, its vegetable life, its ſmell and colour. If this be the caſe, it might prove a commodious method of tranſporting from diſtant countries thoſe delicate plants which are unable to ſuſtain the inclemency of the weather at ſea, and which require particular care and attention.

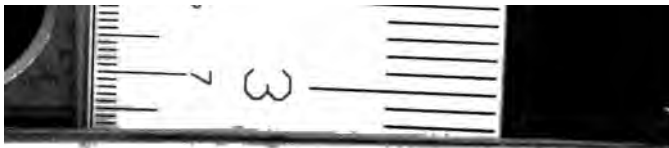
I have ſeen an inſtance of common flies preſerved in a manner ſomewhat ſimilar. They had been drowned in Madeira wine, apparently about the time when it was bottled in Virginia, to be ſent to London. At the opening of one of the bottles, at the houſe of a friend where I was, three drowned flies fell into the firſt glaſs which was filled. Having heard it remarked that drowned flies were capable of being revived by the rays of the ſun, I propoſed making the experiment upon theſe. They were therefore expoſed to the ſun, upon a ſieve, which had been employed to ſtrain them out of the wine. In leſs than three hours two of them began by degrees to recover life. They commenced by ſome convulſive motions in the thighs, and at length they raiſed themſelves upon their legs, wiped their eyes with their fore feet, beat and bruſhed their wings with their hind feet, and ſoon after began to fly, finding themſelves in Old England, without knowing how they came thither. The third continued lifeleſs until ſunſet,

when, losing all hopes of him, he was thrown away.

I wish it were possible, from this instance, to invent a method of embalming drowned persons, in such a manner that they might be recalled to life at any period, however distant; for having a very ardent desire to see and observe the state of America an hundred years hence, I should prefer to an ordinary death, the being immersed in a cask of Madeira wine, with a few friends, until that time, then to be recalled to life by the solar warmth of my dear country. But, since, in all probability, we live in an age too early, and too near the infancy of science, to see such an art brought in our time to its perfection, I must, for the present, content myself with the treat, which you are so kind as to promise me, of the resurrection of a fowl or a turkey-cock.

PRECAUTIONS *to be used by those who are about to undertake a* SEA VOYAGE.

WHEN you intend to take a long voyage, nothing is better than to keep it a secret till the moment of your departure. Without this, you will be continually interrupted and tormented by visits from friends and acquaintances, who not only make you lose your valuable time, but make you forget a thousand things which you wish to remember; so that when you are embarked,



fairly at ſea, you recollect, with much uneaſineſs, affairs which you have not terminated, accounts which you have not ſettled, and a number of things which you propoſed to carry with you, and which you find the want of every moment. Would it not be attended with the beſt conſequences, to reform ſuch a cuſtom, and ſuffer a traveller, without deranging him, to make his preparations in quietneſs, to ſet apart a few days, when theſe are finiſhed, to take leave of his friends, and to receive their good wiſhes for his happy return?

It is not always in one's power to chooſe a captain; though great part of the pleaſure and happineſs of the paſſage depends upon this choice, and tho' one muſt for a time be confined to his company, and be in ſome meaſure under his command. If he is a ſocial ſenſible man, obliging, and of a good diſpoſition, you will be ſo much the happier. One ſometimes meets with people of this deſcription, but they are not common; however, if yours be not of this number, if he be a good ſeaman, attentive, careful, and active in the management of his veſſel, you may diſpenſe with the reſt, for theſe are the moſt eſſential qualities.

Whatever right you may have, by your agreement with him, to the proviſions he has taken on board for the uſe of the paſſengers, it is always proper to have ſome private ſtore, which you may make uſe of occaſionally. You ought, therefore, to provide good water, that of the ſhip being often bad; but you muſt put it into bottles, without which you cannot expect to preſerve it ſweet. You [illegible] alſo to carry with you good tea, ground c[illegible], *chocolate*, wine of the ſort you like beſt, c[illegible], *dried raiſins*, almonds, ſugar, capillaire, c[illegible], *lum*, *eggs* dipped in oil, portable ſoup, bread[illegible]

baked. With regard to poultry, it is almoſt uſeleſs to carry any with you, unleſs you reſolve to undertake the office of feeding and fattening them yourſelf. With the little care which is taken of them on board ſhip, they are almoſt all ſickly, and their fleſh is as tough as leather.

All ſailors entertain an opinion, which has undoubtedly originated formerly from a want of water, and when it has been found neceſſary to be ſparing of it, that poultry never know when they have drank enough; and that when water is given them at diſcretion, they generally kill themſelves by drinking beyond meaſure. In conſequence of this opinion, they give them water only once in two days, and even then in ſmall quantities: but as they pour this water into troughs inclining on one ſide, which occaſions it to run to the lower part, it thence happens that they are obliged to mount one upon the back of another in order to reach it; and there are ſome which cannot even dip their beaks in it. Thus continually tantalized and tormented by thirſt, they are unable to digeſt their food, which is very dry, and they ſoon fall ſick and die. Some of them are found thus every morning, and are thrown into the ſea; whilſt thoſe which are killed for the table are ſcarcely fit to be eaten. To remedy this inconvenience, it will be neceſſary to divide their troughs into ſmall compartments, in ſuch a manner that each of them may be capable of containing water; but this is ſeldom or never done. On this account, ſheep and hogs are to be conſidered as the beſt freſh proviſion that one can have at ſea; mutton there being in general very good, and pork excellent.

It may happen that ſome of the proviſions and

ſtores which I have recommended may become almoſt uſeleſs, by the care which the captain has taken to lay in a proper ſtock; but in ſuch a caſe you may diſpoſe of it to relieve the poor paſſengers, who, paying leſs for their paſſage, are ſtowed among the common ſailors, and have no right to the captain's proviſions, except ſuch part of them as is uſed for feeding the crew. Theſe paſſengers are ſometimes ſick, melancholy, and dejected; and there are often women and children among them, neither of whom have any opportunity of procuring thoſe things which I have mentioned, and of which, perhaps, they have the greateſt need. By diſtributing among them a part of your ſuperfluity, you may be of the greateſt aſſiſtance to them. You may reſtore their health, ſave their lives, and in ſhort render them happy; which always affords the livelieſt ſenſation to a feeling mind.

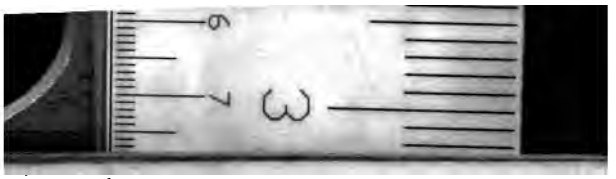
The moſt diſagreeable thing at ſea is the cookery; for there is not, properly ſpeaking, any profeſſed cook on board. The worſt ſailor is generally choſen for that purpoſe, who for the moſt part is equally dirty. Hence comes the proverb uſed among the Engliſh ſailors, that *God ſends meat, and the Devil ſends cooks*. Thoſe, however, who have a better opinion of Providence, will think otherwiſe. Knowing that ſea air, and the exerciſe or motion which they receive from the rolling of the ſhip, have a wonderful effect in whetting the appetite, they will ſay that Providence has given ſailors bad cooks to prevent them from eating too much; or that knowing they would have bad cooks, he has given them a good appetite to prevent them from dying with hunger. However, if you have no *confidence in* theſe ſuccours of Providence, you

may yourſelf, with a lamp and boiler, by the help of a little ſpirits of wine, prepare ſome food, ſuch as ſoup, haſh, &c. A ſmall oven, made of tin-plate, is not a bad piece of furniture: your ſervant may roaſt in it a piece of mutton or pork. If you are ever tempted to eat ſalt beef, which is often very good, you will find that cyder is the beſt liquor to quench the thirſt generally cauſed by ſalt meat or ſalt fiſh. Sea-biſcuit, which is too hard for the teeth of ſome people, may be ſoftened by ſteeping it; but bread double-baked is the beſt, for being made of good loaf-bread cut into ſlices, and baked a ſecond time, it readily imbibes water, becomes ſoft, and is eaſily digeſted; it conſequently forms excellent nouriſhment, much ſuperior to that of biſcuit, which has not been fermented.

I muſt here obſerve, that this double-baked bread was originally the real biſcuit prepared to keep at ſea; for the word *biſcuit*, in French, ſignifies twice baked *. Peaſe often boil badly, and do not become ſoft; in ſuch a caſe, by putting a two-pound ſhot into the kettle, the rolling of the veſſel, by means of this bullet, will convert the peaſe into a kind of porridge, like muſtard.

Having often ſeen ſoup, when put upon the table at ſea in broad flat diſhes, thrown out on every ſide by the rolling of the veſſel, I have wiſhed that our tinmen would make our ſoup-baſons with diviſions or compartments, forming ſmall plates, proper for containing ſoup for one perſon only. By this diſpoſition, the ſoup, in an extraordinary roll, would not be thrown out of the plate, and would not fall into the breaſts of thoſe

* It is derived from *bis* again, and *cuit*



at table, and ſcald them. Having entertained with theſe things of little importance, permi now to conclude with ſome general reflection on navigation.

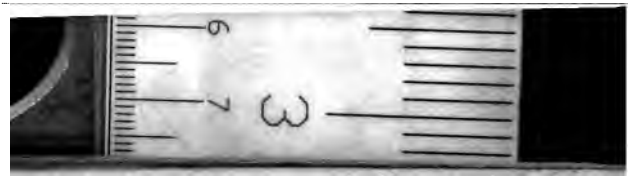
When navigation is employed only for t porting neceſſary proviſions from one cou where they abound, to another where they wanting; when by this it prevents famines, w were ſo frequent and ſo fatal before it was in ed and became ſo common; we cannot help c dering it as one of thoſe arts which contr moſt to the happineſs of mankind. But wh is employed to tranſport things of no utility articles merely of luxury, it is then uncertain ther the advantages reſulting from it are ſuffi to counterbalance the misfortunes it occaſion expoſing the lives of ſo many individuals upo vaſt ocean. And when it is uſed to plunder v and tranſport ſlaves, it is evidently only the d ful means of increaſing thoſe calamities whic flict human nature.

One is aſtoniſhed to think on the numb veſſels and men who are daily expoſed in goi bring tea from China, coffee from Arabia, an gar and tobacco from America; all commo which our anceſtors lived very well without. ſugar-trade employs nearly a thouſand veſſels; that of tobacco almoſt the ſame number. regard to the utility of tobacco, little can be and, with regard to ſugar, how much more they would it be to ſacrifice the momen cooks to which we receive from drinking it that known day in our tea, than to encourag given them a cruelties that are continually exer dying with h procure it us?

confidence in

A celebrated French moraliſt ſaid, that when he conſidered the wars which we foment in Africa to get negroes, the great number who of courſe periſh in theſe wars; the multitude of thoſe wretches who die in their paſſage, by diſeaſe, bad air, and bad proviſions; and laſtly, how many periſh by the cruel treatment they meet with in a ſtate of ſlavery; when he ſaw a bit of ſugar, he could not help imagining it to be covered with ſpots of human blood. But, had he added to theſe conſiderations the wars which we carry on one againſt another, to take and retake the iſlands that produce this commodity, he would not have ſeen the ſugar ſimply *ſpotted* with blood, he would have beheld it entirely tinged with it.

Theſe wars make the maritime powers of Europe, and the inhabitants of Paris and London, pay much dearer for their ſugar than thoſe of Vienna, though they are almoſt three hundred leagues diſtant from the ſea. A pound of ſugar, indeed, coſts the former not only the price which they give for it, but alſo what they pay in taxes, neceſſary to ſupport thoſe fleets and armies which ſerve to defend and protect the countries that produce it.



ON LUXURY, IDLENESS, AND INDUSTRY.

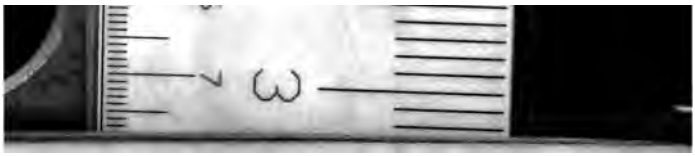
From a Letter to Benjamin Vaughan, Esq. writ in 1784.*

IT is wonderful how prepoſterouſly the affa of this world are managed. Naturally o would imagine that the intereſt of a few individu ſhould give way to general intereſt; but indivi als manage their affairs with ſo much more ap cation, induſtry, and addreſs, than the public theirs, that general intereſt moſt commonly gi way to particular. We aſſemble parliaments a councils, to have the benefit of their collected w dom; but we neceſſarily have, at the ſame ti the inconvenience of their collected paſſions, p judices, and private intereſts. By the help of th artful men overpower their wiſdom, and dupe poſſeſſors; and if we may judge by the acts, rets, and edicts, all the world over, for regulat commerce, an aſſembly of great men is the gr eſt fool upon earth.

I have not yet, indeed, thought of a remedy luxury. I am not ſure that in a great ſtate i capable of a remedy; nor that the evil is in it always ſo great as it is repreſented. Suppoſe include in the definition of luxury all unneceſſ expence, and then let us conſider whether laws

* Preſent member of parliament for the boroug Calne, in Wiltſhire, between whom and our author th *ſubſiſted a very* cloſe friendſhip.

prevent ſuch expence are poſſible to be executed a great country, and whether, if they could be e ecuted, our people generally would be happier, even richer. Is not the hope of being one day ab to purchaſe and enjoy luxuries, a great ſpur to l bour and induſtry? May not luxury therefore pro duce more than it conſumes, if, without ſuch a ſpur people would be, as they are naturally enough inclined to be, lazy and indolent? To this purpoſe I remember a circumſtance. The ſkipper of a ſhallop, employed between Cape-May and Philadelphia, had done us ſome ſmall ſervices, for which he refuſed to be paid. My wife underſtanding that he had a daughter, ſent her a preſent of a new-faſhioned cap. Three years after, this ſkipper being at my houſe with an old farmer of Cape-May, his paſſenger, he mentioned the cap, and how much his daughter had been pleaſed with it. "But (ſaid he) it proved a dear cap to our congregation." —"How ſo?"—"When my daughter appeared with it at meeting, it was ſo much admired, that all the girls reſolved to get ſuch caps from Philadelphia; and my wife and I computed that the whole could not have coſt leſs than a hundred pounds"—"True, (ſaid the farmer) but you do not tell all the ſtory. I think the cap was nevertheleſs an advantage to us; for it was the firſt thing that put our girls upon knitting worſted mittens for ſale at Philadelphia, that they might have wherewithal to buy caps and ribbons there; and you know that induſtry has continued, and is likely to continue and increaſe to a much greater value, and anſwer much better purpoſes"—Upon the whole, I was more reconciled to this little piece of luxury, ſince not only the girls were made hap-



pier by having fine caps, but the Philadelphians by the ſupply of warm mittens.

In our commercial towns upon the ſea-coaſt, fortunes will occaſionally be made. Some of thoſe who grow rich will be prudent, live within bounds, and preſerve what they have gained for their poſterity: others fond of ſhewing their wealth, will be extravagant, and ruin themſelves. Laws cannot prevent this: and perhaps it is not always an evil to the public. A ſhilling ſpent idly by a fool, may be picked up by a wiſer perſon, who knows better what to do with it. It istherefore not loſt. A vain, ſilly fellow builds a fine houſe, furniſhes it richly, lives in it expenſively, and in a few years ruins himſelf: but the maſons, carpenters, ſmiths, and other honeſt tradeſmen, have been by his employ aſſiſted in maintaining and raiſing their families; the farmer has been paid for his labour, and encouraged, and the eſtate is now in better hands.—In ſome caſes, indeed, certain modes of luxury may be a public evil, in the manner as it is a private one. If there be a nation, for inſtance that exports its beef and linen, to pay for the importation of claret and porter, while a great part of its people live upon potatoes, and wear no ſhirts; wherein does it differ from the ſot who lets his family ſtarve, and ſells his cloathes to buy drink? Our American commerce is, I confeſs, a little in this way. We ſell our victuals to the iſlands for rum and ſugar; the ſubſtantial neceſſaries of life for ſuperfluities. But we have plenty, and live well nevertheleſs, though, by being ſoberer, we might be richer.

The vaſt quantity of foreſt land we have yet to *clear*, and put in order for cultivation, will for a

long time keep the body of our nation laborious and frugal. Forming an opinion of our people and their manners, by what is ſeen among the inhabitants of the ſea-ports, is judging from an improper ſample. The people of the trading towns may be rich and luxurious, while the country poſſeſſes all the virtues that tend to promote happineſs and public proſperity. Thoſe towns are not much regarded by the country; they are hardly conſidered as an eſſential part of the ſtates; and the experience of the laſt war has ſhewn, that their being in the poſſeſſion of the enemy did not neceſſarily draw on the ſubjection of the country, which bravely continued to maintain its freedom and independence notwithſtanding.

It has been computed by ſome political arithmetician, that if every man and woman would work for four hours each day on ſomething uſeful, that labour would produce ſufficient to procure all the neceſſaries and comforts of life; want and miſery would be baniſhed out of the world, and the reſt of the twenty-four hours might be leiſure and pleaſure.

What occaſions then ſo much want and miſery? It is the employment of men and women in works that produce neither the neceſſaries or conveniences of life, who, with thoſe who do nothing, conſume neceſſaries raiſed by the laborious. To explain this:

The firſt elements of wealth are obtained by labour, from the earth and waters. I have land, and raiſe corn. With this, if I feed a family that does nothing my corn will be conſumed, and at the end of the year I ſhall be no richer than I was at the beginning. But if, while I feed them, I employ

them, ſome in ſpinning, others in making bricks &c. for building, the value of my corn will be preſted and remain with me, and at the end of the year we may be all better clothed and better lodged. And if, inſtead of employing a man I feed in making bricks, I employ him in fiddling for me, the corn he eats is gone, and no part of his manufacture remains to augment the wealth and convenience of the family; I ſhall therefore be the poorer for this fiddling man, unleſs the reſt of my family work more, or eat leſs, to make up the deficiency he occaſions.

Look round the world, and ſee the millions employed in doing nothing, or in ſomething that amounts to nothing, when the neceſſaries and conveniences of life are in queſtion. What is the bulk of commerce, for which we fight and deſtroy each other, but the toil of millions for ſuperfluities, to the great hazard and loſs of many lives, by the conſtant dangers of the ſea? How much labour is ſpent in building and fitting great ſhips, to go to China and Arabia for tea and coffee, to the Weſt-Indies for ſugar, to America for tobacco? Theſe things cannot be called the neceſſaries of life, for our anceſtors lived very comfortably without them.

A queſtion may be aſked; Could all theſe people now employed in raiſing, making, or carrying ſuperfluities, be ſubſiſted by raiſing neceſſaries? I think they might. The world is large, and a great part of it ſtill uncultivated. Many hundred millions of acres in Aſia, Africa, and America, are ſtill in a foreſt; and a great deal even in Europe. On a hundred acres of this foreſt, a man might become a ſubſtantial farmer; and a hundred thouſand men employed in clearing each his hundred acres, would

hardly brighten a ſpot big enough to be viſible from the moon, unleſs with Herſchel's teleſcope; ſo vaſt are the regions ſtill in wood.

It is however ſome comfort to reflect, that, upon the whole, the quantity of induſtry and prudence among mankind exceeds the quantity of idleneſs and folly. Hence the increaſe of good buildings, farms cultivated, and populous cities filled with wealth, all over Europe, which a few years ſince were only to be found on the coaſt of the Mediterranean; and this notwithſtanding the mad wars continually raging, by which are often deſtroyed in one year the works of many years peace. So that we may hope, the luxury of a few merchants on the coaſt will not be the ruin of America.

One reflection more, and I will end this long rambling letter. Almoſt all the parts of our bodies require ſome expence. The feet demand ſhoes; the legs ſtockings; the reſt of the body cloathing; and the belly a good deal of victuals. Our eyes, tho' exceedingly uſeful, aſk, when reaſonable, only the cheap aſſiſtance of ſpectacles, which could not much impair our finances. But the eyes of other people are the eyes that ruin us. If all but myſelf were blind, I ſhould want neither fine cloathes, fine houſes, nor fine furniture.

ON THE SLAVE TRADE.

READING in the newſpapers the ſpeech of Mr. Jackſon in congreſs, againſt meddling

with the affair of ſlavery, or attempting t
the condition of ſlaves, it put me in mind
milar ſpeech, made about an hundred yea
by Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim, a member of th
of Algiers, which may be ſeen in Martin's
of his conſulſhip, 1687 It was againſt g
the petition of the ſect called *Erika* or *Puri*
praved for the abolition of piracy and ſla
being unjuſt.—Mr. Jackſon does not quote i
has he has not ſeen it. If, therefore, ſom
reaſonings are to be found in his eloquent ſp
may only ſhew that men's intereſts operat
are operated on, with ſurpriſing ſimilarity
countries and climates, whenever they are
ſimilar circumſtances. The African ſpe
tranſlated, is as follows:

"Alla Biſmillah, &c. God is great, and
met is his prophet.

"Have theſe Erika conſidered the conſe
of granting their petition? If we ceaſe cur
againſt the Chriſtians, how ſhall we be fu
with the commodities their countries produ
which are ſo neceſſary for us? If we for
make ſlaves of their people, who, in this l
mate, are to cultivate our lands? Who are
form the common labours of our city, and
families? Muſt we not then be our own
And is there not more compaſſion and more
due to us Muſſulmen, than to thoſe Chriſtian
—We have now above fifty thouſand ſlaves
near Algiers. This number, if not kept up b
ſupplies, will ſoon diminiſh, and be gradua
nihilated. If, then, we ceaſe taking and pl
ing the infidel ſhips, and making ſlaves

ſeamen and paſſengers, our lands will become of no value, for want of cultivation; the rents of houſes in the city will ſink one half; and the revenues of government, ariſing from the ſhare of prizes, muſt be totally deſtroyed?—And for what? To gratify the whim of a whimſical ſect, who would have us not only forbear making more ſlaves, but even manumit thoſe we have. But who is to indemnify their maſters for the loſs? Will the ſtate do it? Is our treaſury ſufficient? Will the Erika do it? Can they do it? Or would they, to do what they think juſtice to the ſlaves, do a greater injuſtice to the owners? And if we ſet our ſlaves free, what is to be done with them? Few of them will return to their native countries; they know too well the greater hardſhips they muſt there be ſubject to. They will not embrace our holy religion; they will not adopt our manners: our people will not pollute themſelves by intermarrying with them. Muſt we maintain them as beggars in our ſtreets; or ſuffer our properties to be the prey of their pillage? for men accuſtomed to ſlavery, will not work for a livelihood, when not compelled.—And what is there ſo pitiable in their preſent condition? Were they not ſlaves in their own countries? Are not Spain, Portugal, France, and the Italian ſtates, governed by deſpots, who hold all their ſubjects in ſlavery, without exception? Even England treats her ſailors as ſlaves, for they are, whenever the government pleaſes, ſeized, and confined in ſhips of war, condemned, not only to work, but to fight for ſmall wages, or a mere ſubſiſtence, not better than our ſlaves are allowed by us. Is their condition then made worſe by their falling into our hands? No,

they have only exchanged one ſlavery for another; and I may ſay a better; for here they are brought into a land where the ſun of Iſlamiſm gives forth its light, and ſhines in full ſplendor, and they have an opportunity of making themſelves acquainted with the true doctrine, and thereby ſaving their immortal ſouls. Thoſe who remain at home have not that happineſs. Sending the ſlaves home, then, would be ſending them out of light into darkneſs.

"I repeat the queſtion, what is to be done with them? I have heard it ſuggeſted, that they may be planted in the wilderneſs, where there is plenty of land for them to ſubſiſt on, and where they may flouriſh as a free ſtate.——But they are, I doubt, too little diſpoſed to labour without compulſion, as well as too ignorant to eſtabliſh good government: and the wild Arabs would ſoon moleſt and deſtroy, or again enſlave them. While ſerving us, we take care to provide them with every thing; and they are treated with humanity. The labourers in their own countries, are, as I am informed, worſe fed, lodged, and clothed. The condition of moſt of them is therefore already mended, and requires no farther improvement. Here their lives are in ſafety. They are not liable to be impreſſed for ſoldiers, and forced to cut one another's Chriſtian throats, as in the wars of their own countries. If ſome of the religious mad bigots who now teaſe us with their ſilly petitions, have, in a fit of blind zeal, freed their ſlaves, it was not generoſity, it was not humanity that moved them to the action; it was from the conſcious burthen of a load of ſins, and hope, from the ſuppoſed merits of ſo good a *work*, to be excuſed from damnation.—How groſſ-

ly are they miſtaken, in imagining ſlavery to be diſavowed by the Alcoran? Are not the two precepts, to quote no more, "Maſters, treat your ſlaves with kindneſs—Slaves, ſerve your maſters with cheerfulneſs and fidelity," clear proofs to the contrary? Nor can the plundering of infidels be in that ſacred book forbidden; ſince it is well known from it, that God has given the world, and all that it contains, to his faithful Muſſulmen, who are to enjoy it, of right, as faſt as they can conquer it. Let us then hear no more of this deteſtable propoſition, the manumiſſion of Chriſtian ſlaves, the adoption of which would, by depreciating our lands and houſes, and thereby depriving ſo many good citizens of their properties, create univerſal diſcontent, and provoke inſurrections, to the endangering of government, and producing general confuſion. I have, therefore, no doubt that this wiſe council will prefer the comfort and happineſs of a whole nation of true believers, to the whim of a few Erika, and diſmiſs their petition."

The reſult was, as Martin tells us, that the Divan came to this reſolution: "That the doctrine, "that the plundering and enſlaving the Chriſtians "is unjuſt, is at beſt problematical; but that it is "the intereſt of this ſtate to continue the practice, "is clear; therefore, let the petition be rejected."——And it was rejected accordingly.

And ſince like motives are apt to produce, in the minds of men, like opinions and reſolutions, may we not venture to predict, from this account, that the petitions to the parliament of England for aboliſhing the ſlave-trade, to ſay nothing of other

legiſlatures, and the debates upon them a ſimilar concluſion.

HISTO

March 23, 1790.

OBSERVATIONS ON WA

BY the original law of nations, wa pation were the puniſhment of in manizing by degrees, it admitted ſlave death: a farther ſtep was the exchang ers inſtead of ſlavery; another, to reſpe property of private perſons under conq content with acquired dominion. Wh this law of nations go on improving? intervened between its ſeveral ſteps: b ledge of late increaſes rapidly, why thoſe ſteps be quickened? Why ſhou agreed to, as the future law of nations war hereafter the following deſcripti ſhould be undiſturbed, have the protec fides, and be permitted to follow the ments in ſecurity? viz.

1. Cultivators of the earth, becauſe for the ſubſiſtence of mankind.

2. Fiſhermen, for the ſame reaſon.

3. Merchants and traders in una who accommodate different nations by caring and exchanging the neceſſaries niences of life.

4. Artiſts and mechanics, inhabiting and working in open towns.

It is hardly neceſſary to add, that the hoſpitals of enemies ſhould be unmoleſted—they ought to be aſſiſted. It is for the intereſt of humanity in general, that the occaſions of war, and the inducements to it, ſhould be diminiſhed. If rapine be aboliſhed, one of the encouragements to war is taken away; and peace therefore more likely to continue and be laſting.

The practice of robbing merchants on the high ſeas—a remnant of the ancient piracy—though it may be accidentally beneficial to particular perſons, is far from being profitable to all engaged in it, or to the nation that authoriſes it. In the beginning of a war ſome rich ſhips are ſurpriſed and taken. This encourages the firſt adventurers to fit out more armed veſſels, and many others to do the ſame. But the enemy at the ſame time become more careful, arm their merchant ſhips better, and render them not ſo eaſy to be taken; they go alſo more under the protection of convoys. Thus, while the privateers to take them are multiplied, the veſſels ſubject to be taken, and the chances of profit, are diminiſhed; ſo that many cruiſes are made, wherein the expences overgo the gains; and, as is the caſe in other lotteries, though particulars have got prizes, the maſs of adventurers are loſers, the whole expence of fitting out all the privateers during a war being much greater than the whole amount of goods taken.

Then there is the national loſs of all the labour of ſo many men during the time they have been employed in robbing; who beſides ſpend what they get in riot, drunkenneſs, and debauchery;

lose their habits of industry; are rarely fit for any sober business after a peace, and serve only to increase the number of highwaymen and housebreakers. Even the undertakers who have been fortunate, are, by sudden wealth, led into expensive living, the habit of which continues when the means of supporting it cease, and finally ruins them: a just punishment for having wantonly and unfeelingly ruined many honest innocent traders and their families, whose substance was employed in serving the common interest of mankind.

ON THE

IMPRESS OF SEAMEN.

Notes copied from Dr. Franklin's writing in pencil in the margin of Judge Foster's celebrated argument in favour of the IMPRESSING OF SEAMEN *(published in the folio edition of his works).*

JUDGE Foster, p. 158. "Every Man."—The conclusion here from the *whole to a part*, does not seem to be good logic. If the alphabet should say, Let us all fight for the defence of the whole; that is equal, and may therefore be just. But if they should say, Let A, B, C, and D, go out and fight for us, while we stay at home and sleep in whole skins; that is not equal, and therefore cannot be just.

Ib. "Employ."—If you please. The word *signifies* engaging a man to work for me, by offer-

ing him such wages as are sufficient to induce him to prefer my service. This is very different from compelling him to work on such terms as I think proper.

Ib. "This service and employment, &c."—These are false facts. His employments and service are not the same—Under the merchant he goes in an unarmed vessel, not obliged to fight, but to transport merchandise. In the king's service he is obliged to fight, and to hazard all the dangers of battle. Sickness on board of king's ships is also more common and more mortal. The merchant's service too he can quit at the end of the voyage; not the king's. Also, the merchant's wages are much higher.

Ib. "I am very sensible, &c."—Here are two things put in comparison that are not comparable: viz. injury to seamen, and inconvenience to trade. Inconvenience to the whole trade of a nation will not justify injustice to a single seamen. If the trade would suffer without his service, it is able and ought to be willing to offer him such wages as may induce him to afford his service voluntarily.

Page 159. "Private mischief must be borne "with patience, for preventing a national calami- "ty."—Where is this maxim in law and good policy to be found? And how can that be a maxim which is not consistent with common sense? If the maxim had been, that private mischief, which prevent a national calamity, ought to be generously compensated by the nation, one might understand it: but that such private mischiefs are only to be borne with patience, is absurd!

Ib. "The expedient, &c. And, &c." (Paragraphs 2 and 3.)—Twenty ineffectual or incor

venient ſchemes will not juſtify one that is ill

Ib. "Upon the foot of, &c."—Your reaſo indeed, like a lie, ſtands but upon one *foot*; upon two.

Page 160. "Full wages."—Probably the they had in the merchant's ſervice.

Page 174. "I hardly admit, &c." (Parag 5)—When this author ſpeaks of impreſſing, 158, he diminiſhes the horror of the practic much as poſſible, by preſenting to the mind ſailor only ſuffering *hardſhip* (as he tenderly it) in ſome *particular caſes* only: and he plac gainſt this private miſchief the inconvenienc the trade of the kingdom.—But if, as he ſup is often the caſe, the ſailor who is preſſed, and ed to ſerve for the defence of trade, at the ra twenty five ſhillings a month, could get pounds fifteen ſhillings in the merchant's ſer you take from him fifty ſhillings a month; a you have a 100,000 in your ſervice, you rob honeſt induſtrous part of ſociety, and their families of 250,000l. per month, or three mil a year, and at the ſame time oblige them to h their lives in fighting for the defence of your r to the defence of which all ought indeed to tribute (and ſailors among the reſt) in propo to their profits by it; but this three millio more than their ſhare, if they did not pay their perſons; but when you force that, met you ſhould excuſe the other.

But it may be ſaid, to give the king's ſe merchant's wages would coſt the nation too m and call for more taxes. The queſtion then amount to this: whether it be juſt in a comm ty, that the richer part ſhould compel the p

to fight in defence of them and their properties, for ſuch wages as they think fit to allow, and puniſh them if they refuſe? Our author tells us that it is "*legal.*" I have not law enough to diſpute his authorities, but I cannot perſuade myſelf that it is equitable. I will, however, own for the preſent, that it may be lawful when neceſſary; but then I contend that it may be uſed ſo as to produce the ſame good effects—the *public ſecurity*, without doing ſo much intolerable injuſtice as attends the impreſſing common ſeamen.—In order to be better underſtood, I would premiſe two things; Firſt, that voluntary ſeamen may be had for the ſervice, if they were ſufficiently paid. The proof is, that to ſerve in the ſame ſhip, and incur the ſame dangers, you have no occaſion to impreſs captains, lieutenants, ſecond lieutenants, midſhipmen, purſers, nor many other officers. Why, but that the profits of their places, or the emoluments expected, are ſufficient inducements? The buſineſs then is, to find money, by impreſſing, ſufficient to make the ſailors all volunteers, as well as their officers; and this without any freſh burthen upon trade.—The ſecond of my premiſes is, that twenty-five ſhillings a month, with his ſhare of ſalt beef, pork, and peaſe-pudding, being found ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of a hard-working ſeamen; it will certainly be ſo for a ſedentary ſcholar or gentleman. I would then propoſe to form a treaſury, out of which encouragements to ſeamen ſhould be paid. To fill this treaſury, I would impreſs a number of civil officers, who at preſent have great ſalaries, oblige them to ſerve in their reſpective offices for twenty-five ſhillings a month, with their ſhares of meſs proviſions, and throw the reſt of their ſalaries

into the ſeamen's treaſury. If ſuch a preſs-w
rant were given me to execute, the firſt I wo
preſs ſhould be a Recorder of Briſtol, or a M
Juſtice Foſter, becauſe I might have need of
edifying example, to ſhow how much impreſſi
ought to be borne with; for he would certai
find, that though to be reduced to twenty-five ſh
lings a month might be a *private miſchief*, yet th
agreeably to his maxim of law and good policy,
ought to be borne with patience, for preventing
national calamity. Then I would preſs the r
of the Judges; and, opening the red book,
would preſs every civil officer of government fr
50 l. a year ſalary, up to 50,000 l. which wo
throw an immenſe ſum into our treaſury: a
theſe gentlemen could not complain, ſince th
would receive twenty-five ſhillings a month, a
their rations; and this without being obliged
fight. Laſtly, I think I would impreſs ***.

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ON THE CRIMINAL LAWS, AND THE PRACTICE OF PRIVATEERING

LETTER TO BENJAMIN VAUGHAN, ESQ.

March 14, 1785

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AMONG the pamphlets you lately ſent m
was one, entitled, *Thoughts on Execut
Juſtice.* In return for that, I ſend you one en

ſame ſubject, *Obſervations concernant l' Exécution de l' Article II. de la Déclaration ſur le Vol.* They are both addreſſed to the judges, and written, as you will ſee, in a very different ſpirit. The Engliſh author is for hanging *all* thieves. The Frenchman is for proportioning puniſhments to offences.

If we really believe, as we profeſs to believe, that the law of Moſes was the law of God, the dictate of divine wiſdom, infinitely ſuperior to human; on what principles do we ordain death as the puniſhment of an offence, which, according to that law, was only to be puniſhed by a reſtitution of fourfold? To put a man to death for an offence which does not deſerve death, is it not a murder? And, as the French writer ſays, *Doit-on punir un délit contre la ſocieté par un crime contre la nature.*

Superfluous property is the creature of ſociety. Simple and mild laws were ſufficient to guard the property that was merely neceſſary. The ſavage's bow, his hatchet, and his coat of ſkins, were ſufficiently ſecured, without law, by the fear of perſonal reſentment and retaliation. When, by virtue of the firſt laws, part of the ſociety accumulated wealth, and grew powerful, they enacted others more ſevere, and would protect their property at the expence of humanity. This was abuſing their power, and commencing a tyranny. If a ſavage, before he entered into ſociety, had been told—"Your neighbour, by this means, may become "owner of an hundred deer; but if your brother, "or your ſon, or yourſelf, having no deer of your "own, and being hungry, ſhould kill one, an in-"famous death muſt be the conſequence:"—he would probably have preferred his liberty, and his common right of killing any deer, to all the ad-

vantages of ſociety that might be propoſed to him.

That it is better a hundred guilty perſons ſhould eſcape, than that one innocent perſon ſhould ſuffer, is a maxim that has been long and generally approved; never, that I know of, controverted. Even the ſanguinary author of the *Thoughts* agrees to it, adding well, "that the very thought of *injured* innocence, and much more that of *ſuffering* innocence, muſt awaken all our tendereſt and moſt compaſſionate feelings, and at the ſame time raiſe our higheſt indignation againſt the inſtruments of it. But, (he adds) there is no danger of *either*, from a ſtrict adherence to the laws." Really!—Is it then impoſſible to make an unjuſt law? and if the law itſelf be unjuſt, may it not be the very "inſtrument" which ought to "raiſe the author's and every body's higheſt indignation?" I ſee, in the laſt newſpapers from London, that a woman is capitally convicted at the Old Bailey, for privately ſtealing out of a ſhop ſome gauze, value fourteen ſhillings and three pence: Is there any proportion between the injury done by a theft, value fourteen ſhillings and three pence, and the puniſhment of a human creature, by death, on a gibbet? Might not that woman, by her labour, have made the reparation ordained by God, in paying fourfold? Is not all puniſhment, inflicted beyond the merit of the offence, ſo much puniſhment of innocence? In this light, how vaſt is the annual quantity, of not only *injured* but *ſuffering* innocence, in almoſt all the civilized ſtates of Europe!

But it ſeems to have been thought that this kind of innocence may be puniſhed by way of *preventing* crimes. I have read, indeed, of a cruel Turk *in Barbary*, who, whenever he bought a new Chriſ-

tian ſlave, ordered him immediately to be hung up by the legs, and to receive a hundred blows of a cudgel on the ſoles of his feet, that the ſevere ſenſe of the puniſhment, and fear of incurring it thereafter, might prevent the faults that ſhould merit it. Our author himſelf would hardly approve entirely of this Turk's conduct in the government of ſlaves; and yet he appears to recommend ſomething like it for the government of Engliſh ſubjects, when he applauds the reply of Judge Burnet to the convict horſe-ſtealer; who being aſked what he had to ſay why judgment of death ſhould not paſs againſt him, and anſwering, that it was hard to hang a man for *only* ſtealing a horſe, was told by the judge, "Man, thou art not to be hanged *only* for ſtealing a horſe, but that horſes may not be ſtolen." The man's anſwer, if candidly examined, will, I imagine, appear reaſonable; as being founded on the eternal principle of juſtice and equity, that puniſhments ſhould be proportioned to offences, and the judge's reply brutal and unreaſonable, though the writer "wiſhes all judges to carry it with them whenever they go to the circuit, and to bear it in their minds, as containing a wiſe reaſon for all the penal ſtatutes which they are called upon to put in execution. It at once illuſtrates, ſays he, the true grounds and reaſons of all capital puniſhments whatſoever, namely, that every man's property, as well as his life, may be held ſacred and inviolate." Is there then no difference in value between property and life? If I think it right that the crime of murder ſhould be puniſhed with death, not only as an equal puniſhment of the crime, but to prevent other murders, does it follow that I muſt approve of the ſame puniſhment for a little invaſion on my property by theft

If I am not myſelf ſo barbarous, ſo bloody-minded, and revengeful, as to kill a fellow-creature for ſtealing from me fourteen ſhillings and three pence, how can I approve of a law that does it? Monteſquieu, who was himſelf a judge, endeavours to impreſs other maxims. He muſt have known what humane judges feel on ſuch occaſions, and what the effects of thoſe feelings; and, ſo far from thinking that ſevere and exceſſive puniſhments prevent crimes, he aſſerts, as quoted by our French writer, that

" *L'atrocité des loix en empêche l'exècution.*

" *Lorſque la peine eſt ſans meſure, on eſt ſouvent* " *obligé de lui préférer l'impunité.*

" *La cauſe des tous les relâchemens vient de l'im-* " *punité des crimes, et non de la moderation des* " *peines.*"

It is ſaid by thoſe who know Europe generally, that there are more theft's committed and puniſhed annually in England than in all the other nations put together. If this be ſo, there muſt be a cauſe or cauſes for ſuch depravity in our common people. May not one be the deficiency of juſtice and morality in our national government, manifeſted in our oppreſſive conduct to ſubjects, and unjuſt wars on our neighbours? View the long-perſiſted in, unjuſt, monopolizing treatment of Ireland, at length acknowledged! View the plundering government exerciſed by our merchants in the Indies; the confiſcating war made upon the American colonies; and, to ſay nothing of thoſe upon France and Spain, view the late war upon Holland, which was ſeen by impartial Europe in no other light than that of a war in rapine and pillage; the hopes of an imminenſe and eaſy prey being its only apparent, and probably its true and real motive and

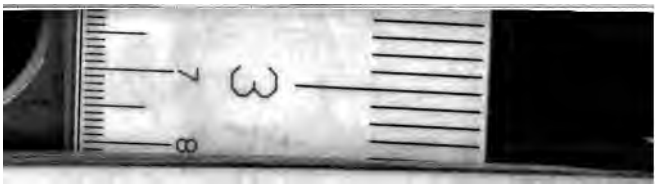
encouragement. Juſtice is as ſtrictly due between neighbour nations as between neighbour citizens. A highwayman is as much a robber when he plunders in a gang, as when ſingle; and a nation that makes an unjuſt war is only a great gang. After employing your people in robbing the Dutch, is it ſtrange that, being out of that employ by peace, they ſtill continue robbing, and rob one another? *Piraterie*, as the French call it, or privateering, is the univerſal bent of the Engliſh nation, at home and abroad, wherever ſettled. No leſs than ſeven hundred privateers were, it is ſaid, commiſſioned in the laſt war! Theſe were fitted out by merchants, to prey upon other merchants, who had never done them no injury. Is there probably any one of thoſe privateering merchants of London, who were ſo ready to rob the merchants of Amſterdam, that would not as readily plunder another London merchant of the next ſtreet, if he could do it with the ſame impunity? The avidity, the *alieni appetens* is the ſame; it is the fear alone of the gallows that makes the difference. How then can a nation, which, amongſt the honeſteſt of its people, has ſo many thieves by inclination, and whoſe government encouraged and commiſſioned no leſs than ſeven hundred gangs of robbers; how can ſuch a nation have the face to condemn the crime in individuals, and hang up twenty of them in a morning! It naturally puts one in mind of a Newgate anecdote. One of the priſoners complained, that in the night ſomebody had taken his buckles out of his ſhoes. "What the devil!" ſays another, "have we then *thieves* amongſt us? It muſt not be ſuffered. Let us ſearch out the rogue, and pump him to death."

There is, however, one late inſtance of an Engliſh merchant who will not profit by ſuch ill-gotten gain. He was, it ſeems, part owner of a ſhip, which the other owners thought fit to employ as a letter of marque, and which took a number of French prizes. The booty being ſhared, he has now an agent here enquiring, by an advertiſement in the Gazette, for thoſe who ſuffered the loſs, in order to make them, as far as in him lies, reſtitution. This conſcientious man is a Quaker. The Scotch preſbyterians were formerly as tender; for there is ſtill extant an ordinance of the town-council of Edinburgh, made ſoon after the Reformation, "forbidding the purchaſe of prize goods, under pain of loſing the freedom of the burgh for ever, with other puniſhment at the will of the magiſtrate; the practice of making prizes being contrary to good conſcience, and the rule of treating Chriſtian brethren as we would wiſh to be treated; and ſuch goods *are not to be ſold by any godly men within this burgh.*" The race of theſe godly men in Scotland is probably extinct, or their principles abandoned, ſince, as far as that nation had a hand in promoting the war againſt the colonies, prizes and confiſcations are believed to have been a conſiderable motive.

It has been for ſome time a generally received opinion, that a military man is not to enquire whether a war be juſt or unjuſt; he is to execute his orders. All princes who are diſpoſed to become tyrants, muſt probably approve of this opinion, and be willing to eſtabliſh it; but is it not a dangerous one? ſince, on that principle, if the tyrant commands his army to attack and deſtroy, not only an unoffending neighbour nation, but even his

own subjects, the army is bound to obey. A negro slave, in our colonies, being commanded by his master to rob or murder a neighbour, or do any other immoral act, may refuse; and the magistrate will protect him in his refusal. The slavery then of a soldier is worse than that of a negro! A conscientious officer, if not restrained by the apprehension of its being imputed to another cause, may indeed resign, rather than be employed in an unjust war, but the private men are slaves for life; and they are perhaps incapable of judging for themselves. We can only lament their fate, and still more that of a sailor, who is often dragged by force from his honest occupation, and compelled to imbrue his hands in perhaps innocent blood. But methinks it well behoves merchants (men more enlightened by their education, and perfectly free from any such force or obligation) to consider well of the justice of a war, before they voluntarily engage a gang of ruffians to attack their fellow-merchants of a neighbouring nation, to plunder them of their property, and perhaps ruin them and their families, if they yield it; or to wound, maim, and murder them, if they attempt to defend it. Yet these things are done by Christian merchants, whether a war be just or unjust; and it can hardly be just on both sides. They are done by English and American merchants, who, nevertheless, complain of private theft, and hang by dozens the thieves they have taught by their own example.

It is high time, for the sake of humanity, that a stop were put to this enormity. The United States of America, though better situated than any European nation to make profit by privateering, (about of the trade of Europe with the West Indies [illegible]



ing before their doors) are, as far as in them lies endeavouring to abolish the practice, by offering in all their treaties with other powers, an article engaging solemnly, that in case of future war, no privateer shall be commissioned on either side; and that unarmed merchant ships, on both sides, shall pursue their voyages unmolested *. This will be a happy improvement of the law of nations. The humane and the just cannot but wish general success to the proposition.

With unchangeable esteem and affection,
I am, my dear friend,
Ever yours

* This article having been accepted by the late king of Prussia, a treaty of amity and commerce was concluded between that monarch and the United States containing the following humane, philanthropic article, in the formation of which Dr Franklin, as one of the American plenipotentiaries, was principally concerned, viz

ART. XXIII.

If war should arise between the two contracting parties, the merchants of either country, then residing in the other, shall be allowed to remain nine months to collect their debts and settle their affairs, and may depart freely, carrying off their effects without molestation or hindrance: and all women and children, scholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, artisans, manufacturers and fishermen, unarmed and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, or places, and in general all others whose occupations are for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, shall be allowed to continue their respective employments, and shall not be molested in their persons, nor shall their houses or goods be burnt, or otherwise destroyed, nor their fields wasted, by the armed force of the enemy into whose power, by the events of war, they may happen to fall; but if any thing is necessary to be taken from them for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at a reasonable price. And all merchant and trading vessels employed in exchanging the products of different places, and thereby rendering the necessaries, conveniencies and comforts of human life more easy to be obtained, and more general, shall be allowed to pass freely unmolested, and neither of the contracting powers shall grant any commission to any private armed vessel empowering them to take or destroy such trading vessels, or interrupt such commerce.

REMARKS CONCERNING THE SAVAGES OF NORTH AMERICA.

SAVAGES we call them, becauſe their manners differ from ours, which we think the perfection of civility; they think the ſame of theirs.

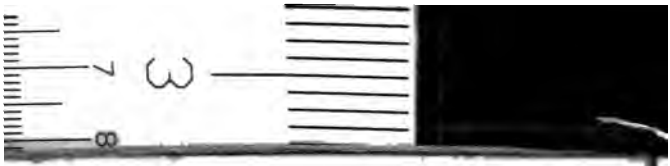
Perhaps, if we could examine the manners of different nations with impartiality, we ſhould find no people ſo rude as to be without any rules of politeneſs; nor any ſo polite as not to have ſome remains of rudeneſs.

The Indian men, when young, are hunters and warriors; when old, counſellors; for all their government is by the counſel or advice of ſages; there is no force, there are no priſons, no officers to compel obedience, or inflict puniſhment. Hence they generally ſtudy oratory; the beſt ſpeaker having the moſt influence. The Indian women till the ground, dreſs the food, nurſe and bring up the children, and preſerve and hand down to poſterity the memory of public tranſactions. Theſe employments of men and women are accounted natural and honourable. Having few artificial wants, they have abundance of leiſure for improvement by converſation. Our laborious manner of life, compared with theirs, they eſteem ſlaviſh and baſe; and the learning on which we value ourſelves, they regard as frivolous and uſeleſs. An inſtance of this occurred at the treaty of Lancaſter, in Pennſylvania, anno 1744, between the government of Virginia and the Six nations. After the *principal buſineſs* was ſettled, the commiſſioners

from Virginia acquainted the Indians by a ſpeech, that there was at Williamſburg a college, with a fund, for educating Indian youth; and that if the chiefs of the Six Nations would ſend down half a dozen of their ſons to that college, the government would take care that they ſhould be well provided for, and inſtructed in all the learning of the white people. It is one of the Indian rules of politeneſs not to anſwer a public propoſition the ſame day that it is made; they think it would be treating it as a light matter; and they ſhew it reſpect by taking time to conſider it, as of a matter important. They therefore deferred their anſwer till the day following; when their ſpeaker began, by expreſſing their deep ſenſe of the kindneſs of the Virginia government, in making them that offer; "for we know (ſays he) that you highly eſteem the kind of learning taught in theſe colleges, and that the maintenance of our young men, while with you, would be very expenſive to you. We are convinced, therefore, that you mean to do us good by your propoſal, and we thank you heartily. But you who are wiſe muſt know, that different nations have different conceptions of things; and you will therefore not take it amiſs, if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the ſame with yours. We have had ſome experience of it: ſeveral of our young people were formerly brought up at the colleges of the northern provinces; they were inſtructed in all your ſciences; but when they came back to us, they were bad runners; ignorant of every means of living in the woods; unable to bear either cold or hunger; knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy; *ſpoke our* language imperfectly; were therefore

fore neither fit for hunters, warriors, or counſellors; they were totally good for nothing. We are however not the leſs obliged by your kind offer, though we decline accepting it: and to ſhow our grateful ſenſe of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia will ſend us a dozen of their ſons, we will take great care of their education, inſtruct them in all we know, and make *men* of them."

Having frequent occaſion to hold public councils, they have acquired great order and decency in conducting them. The old men ſit in the foremoſt ranks, the warriors in the next, and the women and children in the hindmoſt. The buſineſs of the women is to take exact notice of what paſſes, imprint it in their memories, for they have no writing, and communicate it to their children. They are the records of the council, and they preſerve tradition of the ſtipulations in treaties a hundred years back; which, when we compare with our writings, we always find exact. He that would ſpeak, riſes. The reſt obſerve a profound ſilence. When he has finiſhed, and ſits down, they leave him five or ſix minutes to recollect, that, if he has omitted any thing he intended to ſay, or has any thing to add, he may riſe again, and deliver it. To interrupt another, even in common converſation, is reckoned highly indecent. How different this is from the conduct of a polite Britiſh Houſe of Commons, where ſcarce a day paſſes, without ſome confuſion, that makes the ſpeaker hoarſe in calling *to order*; and how different from the mode of converſation in many polite companies of Europe, where if you do not deliver your ſentence with great rapidity, you are cut off in the middle



of it by the impatient loquacity of thoſe you converſe with, and never ſuffered to finiſh it!

The politeneſs of theſe ſavages in converſation, is, indeed, carried to exceſs; ſince it does not permit them to contradict or deny the truth of what is aſſerted in their preſence. By this means they indeed avoid diſputes; but then it becomes difficult to know their minds, or what impreſſion you make upon them. The miſſionaries who have attempted to convert them to Chriſtianity, all complain of this as one of the great difficulties of their miſſion. The Indians hear with patience the truths of the goſpel explained to them, and give their uſual tokens of aſſent and approbation: you would think they were convinced. No ſuch matter. It is mere civility.

A Swediſh miniſter having aſſembled the chiefs of the Suſquehannah Indians, made a ſermon to them, acquainting them with the principle hiſtorical facts on which our religion is founded; ſuch as the fall of our firſt parents by eating an apple; the coming of Chriſt to repair the miſchief; his miracles and ſuffering, &c.—When he had finiſhed, an Indian orator ſtood up to thank him. 'What you have told us,' ſays he, 'is all very good. It is indeed bad to eat apples. It is better to make them all into cyder. We are much obliged by your kindneſs in coming ſo far to tell us thoſe things which you have heard from your mothers. In return, I will tell you ſome of thoſe we have heard from ours.

"In the beginning, our fathers had only the fleſh of animals to ſubſiſt on; and if their hunting was unſucceſsful, they were ſtarving. Two of our young hunters having killed a dear, made a fire

in the woods to broil ſome parts of it. When they were about to ſatisfy their hunger, they beheld a beautiful young woman deſcend from the clouds, and ſeat herſelf on that hill which you ſee yonder among the Blue Mountains. They ſaid to each other, it is a ſpirit that perhaps has ſmelt our broiling veniſon, and wiſhes to eat of it: let us offer ſome to her. They preſented her with the tongue: ſhe was pleaſed with the taſte of it, and ſaid, Your kindneſs ſhall be rewarded. Come to this place after thirteen moons, and you ſhall find ſomething that will be of great benefit in nouriſhing you and your children to the lateſt generations. They did ſo, and to their ſurpriſe found plants they had never ſeen before; but which, from that ancient time, have been conſtantly cultivated among us, to our great advantage. Where her right hand had touched the ground, they found maize; where her left hand had touched it, they found kidney-beans; and where her backſide had ſat on it, they found tobacco." The good miſſionary, diſguſted with this idle tale, ſaid, "What I delivered to you, were ſacred truths; but what you tell me, is mere fable, fiction and falſehood." The Indian, offended, replied, "My brother, it ſeems your friends have not done you juſtice in your education; they have not well inſtructed you in the rules of common civility. You ſaw that we, who underſtand and practiſe thoſe rules, believed all your ſtories, why do you refuſe to believe ours?"

When any of them come into our towns, our people are apt to crowd round them, gaze upon them, and incommode them where they deſire to be private; this they eſteem great rudeneſs, and the effect of the want of inſtruction in the rules of

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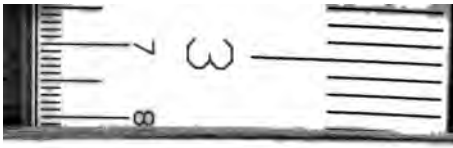


civility and good manners. "We have," "ſay they, "as much curioſity as you, and when you come into our towns, we wiſh for opportunities of looking at you; but for this purpoſe we hide ourſelves behind buſhes where you are to paſs, and never intrude ourſelves into your company."

Their manner of entering one another's villages has likewiſe its rules. It is reckoned uncivil in travelling ſtrangers to enter a village abruptly, without giving notice of their approach. Therefore, as ſoon as they arrive within hearing, they ſtop and hollow, remaining there till invited to enter. Two old men uſually come out to them, and lead them in. There is in every village a vacant dwelling, called the ſtrangers' houſe. Here they are placed, while the old men go round from hut to hut, acquainting the inhabitants that ſtrangers are arrived, who are probably hungry and weary; and every one ſends them what he can ſpare of victuals, and ſkins to repoſe on. When the ſtrangers are refreſhed, pipes and tobacco are brought; and then, but not before, converſation begins, with enquiries who they are, whither bound, what news, &c. and it uſually ends with offers of ſervice; if the ſtrangers have occaſion of guides, or any neceſſaries for continuing their journey; and nothing is exacted for the entertainment.

The ſame hoſpitality, eſteemed among them as a principal virtue, is practiſed by private perſons; of which *Conrad Weiſer*, our interpreter, gave me the following inſtance. He had been naturalized among the Six Nations, and ſpoke well the Mohock language. In going through the Indian country, to carry a meſſage from our governor to the council at *Onondaga*, he called at the habita-

tion of *Canaſſetego*, an old acquaintance, who embraced him, ſpread furs for him to ſit on, placed before him ſome boiled beans and veniſon, and mixed ſome rum and water for his drink. When he was well refreſhed, and had lit his pipe, Canaſſetego began to converſe with him: aſked how he had fared the many years ſince they had ſeen each other, whence he then came, what occaſioned the journey, &c. Conrad anſwered all his queſtions; and when the diſcourſe began to flag, the Indian, to continue it, ſaid, "Conrad, you have lived long among the white people, and know ſomething of their cuſtoms; I have been ſometimes at Albany, and have obſerved, that once in ſeven days they ſhut up their ſhops, and aſſemble all in the great houſe; tell me what that is for! What do they do there?" "They meet there," ſays Conrad, "to hear and learn *good things*." "I do not doubt," ſays the Indian, "that they tell you ſo; they have told me the ſame: but I doubt the truth of what they ſay, and I will tell you my reaſons. I went lately to Albany, to ſell my ſkins, and buy blankets, knives, powder, rum, &c. You know I uſed generally to deal with Hans Hanſon; but I was a little inclined this time to try ſome other merchants. However, I called firſt upon Hans, and aſked him what he would give for beaver. He ſaid he could not give more than four ſhillings a pound: but, ſays he, I cannot talk on buſineſs now; this is the day when we meet together to learn *good things*, and I am going to the meeting. So I thought to myſelf, ſince I cannot do any buſineſs to-day, I may as well go to the meeting too, and I went with him. There ſtood up a man in black, and began to talk to the people very angrily.

I did not underſtand what he ſaid; but perceiving that he looked much at me, and at Hanſon, I imagined he was angry at ſeeing me there; ſo I went out, ſat down near the houſe, ſtruck fire, and lit my pipe, waiting till the meeting ſhould break up. I thought too that the man had mentioned ſomething of beaver, and I ſuſpected it might be the ſubject of their meeting. So when they came out I accoſted my merchant. 'Well, Hans,' ſays I, 'I hope you have agreed to give more than four 'ſhillings a pound.' 'No' ſays he, 'I cannot give ſo much, I cannot give more than three ſhillings and ſix-pence.' I then ſpoke to ſeveral other dealers, but they all ſung the ſame ſong, three and ſix-pence, three and ſix-pence. This made it clear to me that my ſuſpicion was right; and that whatever they pretended of meeting to learn *good things*, the purpoſe was to conſult how to cheat Indians in the price of beaver. Conſider but a little Conrad, and you muſt be of my opinion. If they met ſo often to learn *good things*, they would certainly have learned ſome before this time. But they are ſtill ignorant. You know our practice. If a white man, in travelling through our country, enters one of our cabins, we all treat him as I do you; we dry him if he is wet, we warm him if he is cold, and give him meat and drink, that he may allay his thirſt and hunger; and we ſpread ſoft furs for him to reſt and ſleep on: we demand nothing in return*. But if I go into a white man's houſe at

* It is remarkable, that in all ages and countries, hoſpitality has been allowed as the virtue of thoſe whom the civilized were pleaſed to call Barbarians: the Greeks celebrate the Scythians for it. The Saracens poſſeſſ'd it eminently, and it is to this day the reigning virtue of the wild Arabs. St Paul too, in the relation of his voyage and ſhipwreck on the iſland of Melita, ſays, "The barbarous people ſhewed us "no little kindneſs; for they kindled a fire, and received us every one, becauſe of "the preſent rain, and becauſe of the cold." This note is taken from a ſmall collection of Franklin's papers, printed for Kelly.

Albany, and aſk for victuals and drink, they ſay, Where is your money? and if I have none, they ſay, Get out, you Indian dog. You ſee they have not yet learned thoſe little *good things* that we need no meetings to be inſtructed in, becauſe our mothers taught them to us when we were children; and therefore it is impoſſible their meetings ſhould be, as they ſay, for any ſuch purpoſe, or have any ſuch effect; they are only to contrive *the cheating of Indians in the price of beaver.*'

TO M. DUBOURG,

Concerning the Diſſentions between England and America.

London, October 2, 1770.

I SEE with pleaſure that we think pretty much alike on the ſubjects of Engliſh America. We of the colonies have never inſiſted that we ought to be exempt from contributing to the common expences neceſſary to ſupport the proſperity of the empire. We only aſſert, that having parliaments of our own, and not having repreſentatives in that of Great Britain, our parliaments are the only judges of what we can and what we ought to contribute in this caſe; and that the Engliſh parliament has no right to take our money without our conſent. In fact, the Britiſh empire is not a ſingle ſtate; it comprehends many; and though the parliament of Great Britain has arrogated to itſelf the power of taxing the colonies, it has no more right

to do ſo, than it has to tax Hanover. We
the ſame king, but not the ſame legiſlatures

The diſpute between the two countries h
ready coſt England many millions ſterling,
it has loſt in its commerce, and America has i
reſpect been a proportionable gainer. This
merce conſiſted principally of ſuperfluities ; o
of luxury and fashion, which we can well do
out ; and the reſolution we have formed of in
ing no more till our grievances are redreſſed
enabled many of our infant manufactures to
root ; and it will not be eaſy to make our p
abandon them in future, even ſhould a conn
more cordial than ever ſucceed the preſent
bles.—I have, indeed, no doubt that the p
ment of England will finally abandon its p
pretenſions, and leave to us the peaceable e
ment of our rights and privileges.

B. FRANKLI

A Compariſon of the Conduct of the ancient
and of the ANTIFEDERALISTS *in the United*
of AMERICA.

A ZEALOUS advocate for the propoſed
ral Conſtitution, in a certain public affe
ſaid, that " the repugnance of a great part of
" kind to good government was ſuch, that h
" lieved that if an angel from heaven was to
" down a conſtitution formed there for our

"it would nevertheleſs meet with violent oppoſi-
"tion."—He was reproved for the ſuppoſed ex-
travagance of the ſentiment; and he did not juſ-
tify it.—Probably it might not have immediately
occurred to him that the experiment had been tri-
ed, and that the event was recorded in the moſt
faithful of all hiſtories, the Holy Bible; otherwiſe
he might, as it ſeems to me, have ſupported his
opinion by that unexceptionable authority.

The Supreme Being had been pleaſed to nouriſh
up a ſingle family, by continued acts of his atten-
tive providence, 'till it became a great people: and
having reſcued them from bondage by many mi-
racles performed by his ſervant Moſes, he perſon-
ally delivered to that choſen ſervant, in preſence
of the whole nation, a conſtitution and code of
laws for their obſervance; accompanied and ſanc-
tioned with promiſes of great rewards, and threats
of ſevere puniſhments, as the conſequence of their
obedience or diſobedience.

This conſtitution, though the Deity himſelf was
to be at its head, (and it is therefore called by po-
litical writers a Theocracy) could not be carried
into execution but by means of his miniſters; Aa-
ron and his ſons were therefore commiſſioned to
be, with Moſes, the firſt eſtabliſhed miniſtry of the
new government.

One would have thought, that the appointment
of men who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in pro-
curing the liberty of the nation, and had hazard-
ed their lives in openly oppoſing the will of a pow-
erful monarch who would have retained that nation
in ſlavery, might have been an appointment accept-
able to a grateful people; and that a conſtitution,
framed for them by the Deity himſelf, might o[r]

that country have been secure of an universal welcome reception. Yet there were, in every one of the thirteen tribes, some discontented restless spirits, who were continually exciting them to reject the proposed new government, and this from various motives.

Many still retained an affection for Egypt, the land of their nativity, and these, whenever they felt any inconvenience or hardship, though the natural and unavoidable effect of their change of situation, exclaimed against their leaders as the authors of their trouble; and were not only for returning into Egypt, but for stoning their deliverers *. Those inclined to idolatry were displeased that their golden calf was destroyed. Many of the chiefs thought the new constitution might be injurious to their particular interests, that the profitable places would be *engrossed by the families and friends of Moses and Aaron*, and others equally well-born excluded †.—In Josephus, and the Talmud, we learn some particulars, not so fully narrated in the scripture. We are there told, "that Corah was ambitious of the priesthood; and offended that it was conferred on Aaron; and this, as he said, by the authority of Moses only, *without the consent of the people*. He accused Moses of having, by various artifices, fraudulently obtained the government, and deprived the people of their liberties; and of conspiring with Aaron to perpetuate the tyranny in their family. Thus, though Corah's real motive was the supplanting of Aaron, he persuaded the people that he meant only the

* Numbers, chap. xiv.

† Numbers, chap. xvi. ver. 3. "And they gathered themselves together against Moses and Aaron, and said unto them, Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the *congregations* are holy, every one of them—wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the congregation?"

public good; and they, moved by his insinuations, began to cry out—"Let us maintain the common liberty of our *respective tribes;* we have freed ourselves from the slavery imposed upon us by the Egyptians, and shall we suffer ourselves to be made slaves by Moses? If we must have a master, it were better to return to Pharaoh, who at least fed us with bread and onions, than to serve this new tyrant, who by his operations has brought us into danger of famine." Then they called in question the *reality of his conference* with God; and objected to the privacy of the meetings, and the preventing any of the people from being present at the colloquies, or even approaching the place, as grounds of great suspicion. They accused Moses also of *peculation;* as embezzling part of the golden spoons and the silver chargers, that the princes had offered at the dedication of the altar*, and the offerings of the gold of the common people†, as well as most of the poll tax‡; and Aaron they accused of pocketing much of the gold of which he pretended to have made a molten calf. Besides peculation, they charged Moses with *ambition;* to gratify which passion, he had, they said, deceived the people, by promising to bring them to a land flowing with milk and honey; instead of doing which, he had brought them *from* such a land; and that he thought light of this mischief, provided he could make himself an *absolute prince* ‖. That, to support the new dignity with splendor in his family, the partial poll-tax already levied and given to Aa-

* Numbers, chap. vii. † Exodus, chap. xxxv. ver. 22.
‡ Numbers, chap. iii. and Exodus, chap. xxx.
‖ Numbers, chap. xvi. ver. 13. "Is it a small thing that thou hast brought us up out of a land flowing with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, except thou make thyself altogether a prince over us?"

ron* was to be followed by a general one†, which would probably be augmented from time to time, if he were ſuffered to go on promulgating new laws on pretence of new occaſional revelations of the divine will, till their whole fortunes were devoured by that ariſtocracy."

Moſes denied the charge of peculation; and his accuſers were deſtitute of proofs to ſupport it; though *facts*, if real, are in their nature capable of proof. "I have not," ſaid he, (with holy confidence in the preſence of God) "I have not taken from this people the value of an aſs, nor done them any other injury." But his enemies had made the charge, and with ſome ſucceſs among the populace; for no kind of accuſation is ſo readily made, or eaſily believed, by knaves, as the accuſation of knavery.

In fine, no leſs than two hundred and fifty oft he principal men, "famous in the congregation, men of renown ‡," heading and exciting the mob, working them up to ſuch a pitch of phrenſy, that they called out, ſtone 'em, ſtone 'em, and thereby ſecure our liberties; and let us chooſe other captains that may lead us back into Egypt, in caſe we do not ſucceed in reducing the Canaanites.

On the whole, it appears that the Iſraelites were a people jealous of their newly acquired liberty, which jealouſy was in itſelf no fault; but that when they ſuffered it to be worked upon by artful men, pretending public good, with nothing really in view but private intereſt, they were led to oppoſe the eſtabliſhment of the new conſtitution, whereby they brought upon themſelves much inconvenience and misfortune. It farther appears from

* *Numbers, chap.* iii. † Exodus, chap. xxx. ‡ Numbers, chap. xvi.

the ſame ineſtimable hiſtory, that when, after many ages, the conſtitution had become old and much abuſed, and an amendment of it was propoſed, the populace, as they had accuſed Moſes of the ambition of making himſelf a prince, and cried out, ſtone him, ſtone him; ſo, excited by their high-prieſts and ſcribes, they exclaimed againſt the Meſſiah, that he aimed at becoming king of the Jews, and cried, crucify him, crucify him. From all which we may gather, that popular oppoſition to a public meaſure, is no proof of its impropriety, even though the oppoſition be excited and headed by men of diſtinction.

To conclude, I beg I may not be underſtood to infer, that our general convention was divinely inſpired when it formed the new federal conſtitution, merely becauſe that conſtitution has been unreasonably and vehemently oppoſed: yet, I muſt own, I have ſo much faith in the general government of the world by Providence, that I can hardly conceive a tranſaction of ſuch momentous importance to the welfare of millions now exiſting, and to exiſt in the poſterity of a great nation, ſhould be ſuffered to paſs without being in ſome degree influenced, guided, and governed by that omnipotent, omnipreſent and beneficent Ruler, in whom all inferior ſpirits live, and move, and have their being.

THE INTERNAL STATE OF AMERICA.

Being a true Deſcription of the Intereſt and Policy of that vaſt Continent.

THERE is a tradition, that, in the planting of New England, the firſt ſettlers met with many difficulties and hardſhips; as is generally the caſe when a civilized people attempt eſtabliſhing themſelves in a wilderneſs country. Being piouſly diſpoſed, they ſought relief from Heaven, by laying their wants and diſtreſſes before the Lord, in frequent ſet days of faſting and prayer. Conſtant meditation and diſcourſe on theſe ſubjects kept their minds gloomy and diſcontented; and, like the children of Iſrael, there were many diſpoſed to return to that Egypt which perſecution had induced them to abandon. At length, when it was propoſed in the aſſembly to proclaim another faſt, a farmer of plain ſenſe roſe, and remarked, that the inconveniences they ſuffered, and concerning which they had ſo often wearied heaven with their complaints, were not ſo great as they might have expected, and were diminiſhing every day, as the colony ſtrengthened; that the earth began to reward their labour, and to furniſh liberally for their ſubſiſtence; that the ſeas and rivers were found full of fiſh, the air ſweet, and the climate healthy; and, above all, that they were there in the full enjoyment of liberty, civil and religious: he therefore thought, that reflecting and converſing on theſe ſubjects would be more comfortable, as tending

more to make them contented with their ſituation; and that it would be more becoming the gratitude they owed to the Divine Being, if, inſtead of a faſt, they ſhould proclaim a thankſgiving. His advice was taken, and from that day to this they have, in every year, obſerved circumſtances of public felicity ſufficient to furniſh employment for a thankſgiving day, which is therefore conſtantly ordered and religiouſly obſerved.

I ſee in the public newſpapers of different ſtates frequent complaits of *hard times*, *deadneſs of trade*, *ſcarcity of money*, &c. &c. It is not my intention to aſſert or maintain that theſe complaints are entirely without foundation. There can be no country or nation exiſting, in which there will not be ſome people ſo circumſtanced as to find it hard to gain a livelihood; people who are not in the way of any profitable trade, and with whom money is ſcarce, becauſe they have nothing to give in exchange for it; and it is always in the power of a ſmall number to make a great clamour. But let us take a cool view of the general ſtate of our affairs, and perhaps the proſpect will appear leſs gloomy than has been imagined.

The great buſineſs of the continent is agriculture. For one artiſan, or merchant, I ſuppoſe, we have at leaſt one hundred farmers, and by far the greateſt part cultivators of their own fertile lands, from whence many of them draw not only food neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, but the materials of their cloathing, ſo as to need very few foreign ſupplies; while they have a ſurplus of productions to diſpoſe of, whereby wealth is gradually accumulated. Such *has been the goodneſs of Divine Providence to the regions, and* ſo favourable the climate, that, in

the three or four years of hardſhip in the firſt ſettlement of our fathers here, a famine or ſcarcity has never been heard of amongſt us; on the contrary, though ſome years may have been more, and others leſs plentiful, there has always been proviſion enough for ourſelves, and a quantity to ſpare for exportation. And although the crops of laſt year were generally good, never was the farmer better paid for the part he can ſpare commerce, as the publiſhed price currents abundantly teſtify. The lands he poſſeſſes are alſo continually riſing in value with the increaſe of population; and, on the whole, he is enabled to give ſuch good wages to thoſe who work for him, that all who are acquainted with the old world muſt agree, that in no part of it are the labouring poor ſo generally well fed, well clothed, well lodged, and well paid, as in the United States of America.

If we enter the cities, we find that, ſince the revolution, the owners of houſes and lots of ground have had their intereſt vaſtly augmented in value; rents have riſen to an aſtoniſhing height, and thence encouragement to increaſe building, which gives employment to an abundance of workmen, as does alſo the increaſed luxury and ſplendour of living of the inhabitants thus made richer. Theſe workmen all demand and obtain much higher wages than any other part of the world could afford them, and are paid in ready money. This rank of people therefore do not, or ought not, to complain of hard times; and they make a very conſiderable part of the city inhabitants.

At the diſtance I live from our American fiſheries, *I cannot* ſpeak of them with any degree of *certainty*; but I have not heard that the labour-

the valuable race of men employed in them is worſe paid, or that they meet with leſs ſucceſs, than before the revolution. The whale-men, indeed have been deprived of one market for their oil; but another, I hear, is opening for them, which it is hoped may be equally advantageous; and the demand is conſtantly increaſing for their ſperma-ceti candles, which there bear a much higher price than formerly.

There remain the merchants and ſhop-keepers. Of theſe, though they make but a ſmall part of the whole nation, the number is conſiderable, too great indeed for the buſineſs they are employed in; for the conſumption of goods in every country has its limits; the faculties of the people, that is, their ability to buy and pay, is equal only to a certain quantity of merchandiſe. If merchants calculate amiſs on their proportion and import too much, they will of courſe find the ſale dull for the overplus, and ſome of them will ſay that trade languiſhes. They ſhould, and doubtleſs will, grow wiſer by experience, and import leſs. If too many artificers in town, and farmers from the country, flattering themſelves with the idea of leading eaſier lives, turn ſhop-keepers, the whole natural quantity of that buſineſs divided among them all may afford too ſmall a ſhare for each, and occaſion complaints that trading is dead; theſe may alſo ſuppoſe that it is owing to ſcarcity of money, while in fact, it is not ſo much from the fewneſs of buyers, as from the exceſſive number of ſellers, that the miſchief ariſes; and, if every ſhop-keeping farmer and mechanic would return to the uſe of *his plough* and working tools, there would remain *of widows*, and other women, ſhop keepers ſufficient

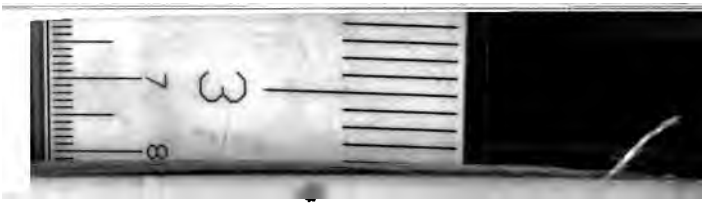
ent for the buſineſs, which might then afford them a comfortable maintenance.

Whoever has travelled through the various parts of Europe, and obſerved how ſmall is the proportion of people in affluence or eaſy circumſtances there, compared with thoſe in poverty and miſery; the few rich and haughty landlords, the multitude of poor, abject, rack-rented, tythe-paying tenants, and half-paid and half-ſtarved ragged labourers; and views here the happy mediocrity that ſo generally prevails throughout theſe ſtates, where the cultivator works for himſelf, and ſupports his family in decent plenty; will, methinks, ſee abundant reaſon to bleſs Divine Providence for the evident and great difference in our favour, and be convinced that no nation known to us enjoys a greater ſhare of human felicity.

It is true, that in ſome of the ſtates there are parties and diſcords; but let us look back, and aſk if we were ever without them? Such will exiſt wherever there is liberty; and perhaps they help to preſerve it. By the colliſion of different ſentiments, ſparks of truth are ſtruck out, and political light is obtained. The different factions, which at preſent divide us, aim all at the public good; the differences are only about the various modes of promoting it. Things, actions, meaſures, and objects of all kinds, preſent themſelves to the minds of men in ſuch a variety of lights, that it is not poſſible we ſhould all think alike at the ſame time on every ſubject, when hardly the ſame man retains at all times the ſame ideas of it. Parties are therefore the common lot of humanity; and ours are by no means more miſchievous or leſs beneficial than *thoſe of other* countries, nations, and ages, enjoy-

ing in the ſame degree the great bleſſing of political liberty.

Some indeed among us are not ſo much grieved for the preſent ſtate of our affairs, as apprehenſive for the future. The growth of luxury alarms them, and they think we are from that alone in the high road to ruin. They obſerve, that no revenue is ſufficient without œconomy, and that the moſt plentiful income of a whole people from the natural productions of their country may be diſſipated in in vain and needleſs expences, and poverty be introduced in the place of affluence.—This may be poſſible. It however rarely happens: for there ſeems to be in every nation a greater proportion of induſtry and frugality, which tend to enrich, than of idleneſs and prodigality, which occaſion poverty; ſo that upon the whole there is a continual accumulation. Reflect what Spain, Gaul, Germany, and Britain were in the time of the Romans, inhabited by people little richer than our avages, and conſider the wealth they at preſent poſſeſs, in numerous well-built cities, improved farms, rich moveables, magazines ſtocked with valuable manufactures, to ſay nothing of plate, jewels, and coined money; and all this, notwithſtanding their bad, waſteful, plundering governments, and their mad deſtructive wars; and yet luxury and extravagant living has never ſuffered much reſtraint in thoſe countries. Then conſider the great proportion of induſtrious frugal farmers inhabiting the interior parts of theſe American ſtates, and of whom the body of our nation conſiſts, and judge whether it is poſſible that the luxury of our ſea-ports can be ſufficient to ruin ſuch a country.—If the importation *of foreign luxuries* could ruin a people, we ſhould



probably have been ruined long ago; for the British nation claimed a right, and practiſed it, of importing among us not only the ſuperfluities of their own production, but thoſe of every nation under heaven; we bought and conſumed them, and yet we flouriſhed and grew rich. At preſent our independent governments may do what we could not then do, diſcourage by heavy duties, or prevent by heavy probibitions, ſuch importations, and thereby grow richer;—If, indeed, which may admit of diſpute, the deſire of adorning ourſelves with fine cloathes, poſſeſſing fine furniture, with elegant houſes, &c. is not, by ſtrongly inciting to labour and induſtry, the occaſion of producing a greater value than is conſumed in the gratification of that deſire.

The agriculture and fiſheries of the United States are the great ſources of our increaſing wealth. He that puts a ſeed into the earth is recompenſed, perhaps by receiving forty out of it; and he who draws a fiſh out of our water, draws up a piece of ſilver.

Let us (and there is no doubt but we ſhall) be attentive to theſe, and then the power of rivals, with all their reſtraining and prohibiting acts, cannot much hurt us. We are ſons of the earth and ſeas, and, like Antæus in the fable, if in wreſtling with a Hercules we now and then receive a fall, the touch of our parents will communicate to us freſh ſtrength and vigour to renew the conteſt.

INFORM-

INFORMATION TO THOSE WHO WOULD REMOVE TO AMERICA.

MANY perſons in Europe having, directly or by letters, expreſſed to the writer of this, who is well acquainted with North America, their deſire of tranſporting and eſtabliſhing themſelves in that country; but who appear to him to have formed, through ignorance, miſtaken ideas and expectations of what is to be obtained there; he thinks it may be uſeful, and prevent inconvenient expenſive, and fruitleſs removals and voyages of improper perſons, if he gives ſome clearer and truer notions of that part of the world, than have hitherto prevailed.

He finds it imagined by numbers, that the inhabitants of North America are rich, capable of rewarding, and diſpoſed to reward, all ſorts of ingenuity; that they are at the ſame time ignorant of all the ſciences, and conſequently that ſtrangers poſſeſſing talents in the belles-lettres, fine arts, &c. muſt be highly eſteemed, and ſo well paid as to become eaſily rich themſelves; that there are alſo abundance of profitable offices to be diſpoſed of, which the natives are not qualified to fill; and that having few perſons of family among them, ſtrangers of birth muſt be greatly reſpected, and of courſe eaſily obtain the beſt of thoſe offices, which will make all their fortunes; that the governments, to encourage emigration from Europe, not only pay the expence of their perſonal tranſportation, but give lands gratis to ſtrangers,

with negroes to work for them, utenſils of huſbandry, and ſtocks of cattle. Theſe are all wild imaginations; and thoſe who go to America with expectations founded upon them, will ſurely find themſelves diſappointed.

The truth is, that though there are in that country few people ſo miſerable as the poor of Europe, there are alſo few that in Europe would be called rich: it is rather a general happy mediocrity that prevails. There are few great proprietors of the ſoil, and few tenants; moſt people cultivate their own lands, or follow ſome handicraft or merchandiſe; very few rich enough to live idly upon their rents or incomes, or to pay the high prices given in Europe, for painting, ſtatues, architecture and the other works of art that are more curious, than uſeful. Hence the natural geniuſes that have ariſen in America, with ſuch talents, have uniformly quitted that country for Europe, where they can be more ſuitably rewarded. It is true that letters and mathematical knowledge are in eſteem there, but they are at the ſame time more common than is apprehended; there being already exiſting nine colleges, or univerſities, viz. four in New-England, and one in each of the provinces of New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, all furniſhed with learned profeſſors; beſides a number of ſmaller academies: theſe educate many of their youth in the languages, and thoſe ſciences that qualify men for the profeſſions of divinity, law, or phyſic. Strangers indeed are by no means excluded from exerciſing theſe profeſſions; and the quick increaſe of inhabitants every where *gives them* a chance of employ, which they have *in common* with the natives. Of civil offices, or

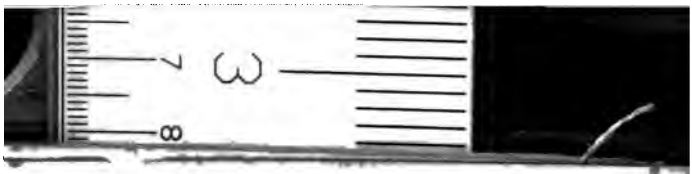
employments, there are few; no ſuperfluous ones as in Europe; and it is a rule eſtabliſhed in ſome of the ſtates, that no office ſhould be ſo profitable as to make it deſirable. The 36th article of the conſtitution of Pennſylvania runs expreſsly in theſe words: "As every freeman, to preſerve his independence, (if he has not a ſufficient eſtate) ought to have ſome profeſſion, calling, trade, or farm, whereby he may honeſtly ſubſiſt, there can be no neceſſity for, nor uſe in, eſtabliſhing offices of profit; the uſual defects of which are dependence and ſervility, unbecoming freemen, in the poſſeſſors and expectants; faction, contention, corruption, and diſorder among the people. Wherefore, wherever an office, through increaſe of fees or otherwiſe, becomes ſo profitable as to occaſion many to apply for it, the profits ought to be leſſened by the legiſlature."

Theſe ideas prevailing more or leſs in all the United States, it cannot be worth any man's while, who has a means of living at home, to expatriate himſelf in hopes of obtaining a profitable civil office in America; and as to military offices, they are at an end with the war, the armies being diſbanded. Much leſs is it adviſeable for a perſon to go thither, who has no other quality to recommend him but his birth. In Europe, it has indeed its value; but it is a commodity that cannot be carried to a worſe market than to that of America, where people do not enquire concerning a ſtrangr, *What is hé?* but *What can he do?* If he has any uſeful art, he is welcome; and if he exerciſes it, and behaves well, he will be reſpected by all that know *him; but a mere man of quality, who on that account wants* to live upon the public by ſome offi

ſo that they have no need of the patronage of great men; and every one will enjoy ſecurely the profits of his induſtry. But if he does not bring a fortune with him, he muſt work and be induſtrious to live. One or two years reſidence give him all the rights of a citizen; but the government does not at preſent, whatever it may have done in former times, hire people to become ſetlers, by paying their paſſages, giving land, negroes, utenſils, ſtock, or any other kind of emolument whatſoever. In ſhort, America is the land of labour, and by no means what the Engliſh call *Lubberland*, and the French *Pays de Cocagne*, where the ſtreets are ſaid to be payed with half-peck loaves, the houſes tiled with pancakes, and where the fowls fly about ready roaſted, crying, *Come eat me!*

Who then are the kind of perſons to whom an emigration to America would be advantageous? And what are the advantages they may reaſonably expect?

Land being cheap in that country from the vaſt foreſts ſtill void of inhabitants, and not likely to be occupied in an age to come, inſomuch that the property of an hundred acres of fertile ſoil full of wood may be obtained near the frontiers, in many places, for eight or ten guineas, hearty young labouring men, who underſtand the huſbandry of corn and cattle, which is nearly the ſame in that country as in Europe, may eaſily eſtabliſh themſelves there. A little money ſaved of the good wages they receive there while they work for others, enables them to buy the land and begin their plantation, in which they are aſſiſted by the goodwill of their neighbours, and ſome credit. Multitudes of poor people from England, Ireland, Scot-



land, and Germany, have by this means in a few years become wealthy farmers, who in their own countries, where all the lands are fully occupied and the wages of labour low, could never have emerged from the mean condition wherein they were born.

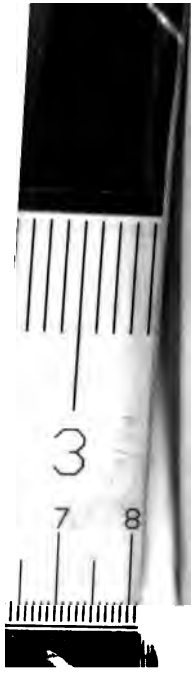
From the ſalubrity of the air, the healthineſs of the climate, the plenty of good proviſions, and the encouragement to early marriages, by the certainty of ſubſiſtence in cultivating the earth, the increaſe of inhabitants by natural generation is very rapid in America, and becomes ſtill more ſo by the acceſſion of ſtrangers; hence there is a continual demand for more artiſans of all the neceſſary and uſeful kinds, to ſupply thoſe cultivators of the earth with houſes, and with furniture and utenſils of the groſſer ſorts, which cannot ſo well be brought from Europe. Tolerably good workmen in any of thoſe mechanic arts, are ſure to find employ, and to be well paid for their work there being no reſtraints preventing ſtrangers from exerciſing any art they underſtand, nor any permiſſion neceſſary. If they are poor, they begin firſt as ſervants or journeymen; and if they are ſober, induſtrious, and frugal, they ſoon become maſters, eſtabliſh themſelves in buſineſs, marry, raiſe families, and become reſpectable citizens.

Alſo, perſons of moderate fortunes and capitals, who having a number of children to provide for, are deſirous of bringing them up to induſtry, and to ſecure eſtates for their poſterity, have opportunities of doing it in America, which Europe does not afford. There they may be taught *and practiſe* profitable mechanic arts without in*curring diſ*grace on that account; but on the *contrary* acquiring reſpect by ſuch abilities. There *ſmall capitals* laid out in lands, which daily be

come more valuable by the increaſe of people, afford a ſolid proſpect of ample fortunes thereafter for thoſe children. The writer of this has known ſeveral inſtances of large tracts of land, bought on what was then the frontier of Pennſylvania, for ten pounds per hundred acres, which, after twenty years, when the ſettlements had been extended far beyond them, ſold readily, without any improvement made upon them, for three pounds per acre. The acre in America is the ſame with the Engliſh acre, or the acre of Normandy.

Thoſe who deſire to underſtand the ſtate of government in America, would do well to read the conſtitutions of the ſeveral ſtates, and the articles of confederation that bind the whole together for general purpoſes, under the direction of one aſſembly, called the Congreſs. Theſe conſtitutions have been printed, by order of Congreſs, in America; two editions of them have alſo been printed in London; and a good tranſlation of them into French, has lately been publiſhed at Paris.

Several of the princes of Europe having of late, from an opinion of advantage to ariſe by producing all commodities and manufactures within their own dominions, ſo as to diminiſh or render uſeleſs their importations, have endeavoured to entice workmen from other countries, by high ſalaries, privileges, &c. Many perſons pretending to be ſkilled in various great manufactures, imagining that America muſt be in want of them, and that the Congreſs would probably be diſpoſed to imitate the princes above mentioned, have propoſed to go over, on condition of having their paſſages paid *lands given*, ſalaries appointed, excluſive privileges *for terms of* years, &c. Such perſons, on read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importation of such goods, [illegible]
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ance, &c. neceſſarily charged by the merchant. And it is the ſame with every other mechanic art. Hence it is, that artiſans generally live better and more eaſily in America than in Europe; and ſuch as are good œconomiſts make a comfortable proviſion for age, and for their children. Such may, therefore, remove with advantage to America.

In the old long-ſettled countries of Europe, all arts, trades, profeſſions, farms, &c. are ſo full, that it is difficult for a poor man who has children to place them where they may gain, or learn to gain, a decent livelihood. The artiſans, who fear creating future rivals in buſineſs, refuſe to take apprentices, but upon conditions of money, maintenance, or the like, which the parents are unable to comply with. Hence the youth are dragged up in ignorance of every gainful art, and obliged to become ſoldiers, or ſervants, or thieves, for a ſubſiſtence. In America, the rapid increaſe of inhabitants takes away that fear of rivalſhip, and artiſans willingly receive apprentices from the hope of profit by their labour, during the remainder of the time ſtipulated, after they ſhall be inſtructed. Hence it is eaſy for poor families to get their children inſtructed; for the artiſans are ſo deſirous of apprentices, that many of them will even give money to the parents, to have boys from ten to fifteen years of age bound apprentices to them, till the age of twenty-one; and many poor parents have, by that means, on their arrival in the country, raiſed money enough to buy land ſufficient to eſtabliſh themſelves, and to ſubſiſt the reſt of their family *by agriculture*. Theſe contracts of apprentices *are made* before a magiſtrate, who regulates the *agreement* according to reaſon and juſtice; and *having in* view the formation of a future uſeful

citizen, obliges the maſter to engage by a written indenture, not only that, during the time of ſervice ſtipulated, the apprentice ſhall be duly provided with meat, drink, apparel, waſhing, and lodging, and at its expiration with a complete new ſuit of clothes, but alſo that he ſhall be taught to read, write, and caſt accounts; and that he ſhall be well inſtructed in the art or profeſſion of his maſter, or ſome other, by which he may afterwards gain a livelihood, and be able in his turn to raiſe a family. A copy of this indenture is given to the apprentice or his friends, and the magiſtrate keeps a record of it, to which recourſe may be had, in caſe of failure by the maſter in any point of performance. This deſire among the maſters to have more hands employed in working for them, induces them to pay the paſſages of young perſons, of both ſexes, who, on their arrival, agree to ſerve them one, two, three, or four years: thoſe who have already learned a trade, agreeing for a ſhorter term, in proportion to their ſkill, and the conſequent immediate value of their ſervice; and thoſe who have none, agreeing for a longer term, in conſideration of being taught an art their poverty would not permit them to acquire in their own country.

The almoſt general mediocrity of fortune that prevails in America, obliging its people to follow ſome buſineſs for ſubſiſtence, thoſe vices that riſe uſually from idleneſs, are in a great meaſure prevented. Induſtry and conſtant employment are great preſervatives of the morals and virtue of a nation. Hence bad examples to youth are more rare in America, which muſt be a comfortable conſideration to parents. To this may be truly added, that ſerious religion, under its various denomina-

tions, is not only tolerated, but reſpected and practiſed. Atheiſm is unknown there; infidelity rare and ſecret; ſo that perſons may live to a great age in that country without having their piety ſhocked by meeting either with an athieſt or an infidel. And the Divine Being ſeems to have manifeſted his approbation of the mutual forbearance and kindneſs with which the different ſects treat each other, by the remarkable proſperity with which he has been pleaſed to favour the whole country.

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FINAL SPEECH OF DR. FRANKLIN IN THE LATE FEDERAL CONVENTION*.

MR. PRESIDENT,

I CONFESS that I do not entirely approve of this conſtitution at preſent: but, Sir, I am not ſure I ſhall never approve it; for having lived long, I have experienced many inſtances of being obliged by better information, or further conſideration, to change opinions even on important ſubjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwiſe. It is, therefore, that the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment, and to pay more reſpect to the judgment of others. Moſt men, indeed, as well as moſt ſects of religion, think themſelves in poſſeſſion of all truth, and that whenever others differ from them, it is ſo far error.

* Our reaſons for aſcribing this ſpeech to Dr. Franklin, are internal evidence, and its having appeared with his name, during his life time, uncontradicted, in an *American* periodical publication.

Steel, a proteſtant, in a dedication, tells the pope, that "the only difference between our two churches, in their opinions of the certainty of their doctrines, is, the Romiſh church is infallible, and the church of England never in the wrong." But, though many private perſons think almoſt as highly of their own infallibility as of that of their ſect, few expreſs it ſo naturally as a certain French lady, who, in a little diſpute with her ſiſter, ſaid, I don't know how it happens, ſiſter, but I meet with nobody but myſelf that is always in the right. *Il n'y a que moi qui a toujours raiſon.* In theſe ſentiments, Sir, I agree to this conſtitution, with all its faults, if they are ſuch; becauſe I think a general government neceſſary for us, and there is no form of government, but what may be a bleſſing, if well adminiſtered; and I believe farther, that this is likely to be well adminiſtered for a courſe of years, and can only end in deſpotiſm, as other forms have done before it, when the people ſhall become ſo corrupted as to need deſpotic government, being incapable of any other. I doubt too, whether any other convention we can obtain, may be able to make a better conſtitution. For when you aſſemble a number of men, to have the advantage of their joint wiſdom, you aſſemble with thoſe men, all their prejudices, their paſſions, their errors of opinion, their local intereſts, and their ſelfiſh views. From ſuch an aſſembly can a perfect production be expected? It therefore aſtoniſhes me, Sir, to find this ſyſtem approaching ſo near to perfection as it does; and I think it will aſtoniſh our enemies, who are waiting with confidence, to hear that our councils are confounded, like thoſe of the builders of Babylon, and that our

ſtates are on the point of ſeparation, only to meet hereafter for the purpoſe of cutting each other's throats.

Thus I conſent, Sir, to this conſtitution, becauſe I expect no better, and becauſe I am not ſure that this is not the beſt. The opinions I have had of its errors, I ſacrifice to the public good. I have never whiſpered a ſyllable of them abroad. Within theſe walls they were born; and here they ſhall die. If every one of us, in returning to our conſtituents, were to report the objections he has had to it, and endeavour to gain partiſans in ſupport of them, we might prevent its being generally received, and thereby loſe all the ſalutary effects and great advantages reſulting naturally in our favour among foreign nations, as well as among ourſelves, from our real and apparent unanimity. Much of the ſtrength or efficiency of any government, in procuring and ſecuring happineſs to the people, depends on opinion; on the general opinion of the goodneſs of that government, as well as of the wiſdom and integrity of its governors.

I hope, therefore, that for our own ſakes as a part of the people, and for the ſake of our poſterity, we ſhall act heartily and unanimouſly in recommending this conſtitution, wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavours to the means of having it well adminiſtered.

On the whole, Sir, I cannot help expreſſing a wiſh, that every member of the convention, who may ſtill have objections, would with me on this occaſion, doubt a little of his own infallibility, and, to make manifeſt our unanimity, put his name *to this inſtrument.*

[The motion was then made for adding the laſt formula, viz.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous conſent, &c. which was agreed to, and added accordingly.]

SKETCH OF AN ENGLISH SCHOOL.

For the Conſideration of the Truſtees of the Philadelphia Academy.*

IT is expected that every ſcholar to be admitted into this ſchool, be at leaſt able to pronounce and divide the ſyllables in reaaing, and to write a legible hand. None to be received that are under years of age.

FIRST, OR LOWEST CLASS.

Let the firſt claſs learn the Engliſh Grammar rules, and at the ſame time let particular care be taken to improve them in orthography. Perhaps the latter is beſt done by pairing the ſcholars; two of thoſe neareſt equal in their ſpelling to be put together. Let theſe ſtrive for victory; each propounding ten words every day to the other to be ſpelled. He that ſpells truly moſt of the other's words, is victor for that day; he that is victor moſt days in a month, to obtain a prize, a pretty neat book of ſome kind, uſeful in their future ſtudies. This method fixes the attention of children extreme-

* This piece did not come to hand till the volume had been ſome time at the preſs. This was the caſe alſo with ſeveral other papers, and muſt be our apology for any defect that *may appear* in the arrangement.

ly to the orthography of words, and makes them good ſpellers very early. It is a ſhame for a man to be ſo ignorant of this little art, in his own language, as to be perpetually confounding words of like ſound and different ſignifications; the conſciouſneſs of which defect makes ſome men, otherwiſe of good learning and underſtanding, averſe to writing even a common letter.

Let the pieces read by the ſcholars in this claſs be ſhort; ſuch as Craxal's fables and little ſtories. In giving the leſſon, let it be read to them; let the meaning of the difficult words in it be explained to them; and let them con over by themſelves before they are called to read to the maſter or uſher; who is to take particular care that they do not read too faſt, and that they duly obſerve the ſtops and pauſes. A vocabulary of the moſt uſual difficult words might be formed for their uſe, with explanations; and they might daily get a few of thoſe words and explanations by heart, which would a little exerciſe their memories; or at leaſt they might write a number of them in a ſmall book for the purpoſe, which would help to fix the meaning of thoſe words in their minds, and at the ſame time furniſh every one with a little dictionary for his future uſe.

THE SECOND CLASS

To be taught reading with attention, and with proper modulations of the voice; according to the ſentiment and ſubject.

Some ſhort pieces, not exceeding the length of a Spectator, to be given this claſs for leſſons (and ſome of the eaſier Spectators would be very ſuitable for the purpoſe). Theſe leſſons might be given every night as tasks; the ſcholars to ſtudy them

againſt the morning. Let it then be required of them to give an account, firſt of the parts of ſpeech, and conſtruction of one or two ſentences. This will oblige them frequently to recur to their grammar, and fix its principal rules in their memory. Next, of the intention of the writer, or the ſcope of the piece, the meaning of each ſentence, and of every uncommon word. This would early acquaint them with the meaning and force of words, and give them that moſt neceſſary habit, of reading with attention.

The maſter then to read the piece with the proper modulations of voice, due emphaſis, and ſuitable action, where action is required; and put the youth on imitating his manner.

Where the author has uſed an expreſſion not the beſt, let it be pointed out; and let his beauties be particularly remarked to the youth.

Let the leſſons for reading be varied, that the youth may be made acquainted with good ſtyles of all kinds in proſe and verſe, and the proper manner of reading each kind—ſometimes a well-told ſtory, a piece of a ſermon, a general's ſpeech to his ſoldiers, a ſpeech in a tragedy, ſome part of a comedy, an ode, a ſatire, a letter, blank verſe, Hudibraſtic, heroic, &c. But let ſuch leſſons be choſen for reading, as contain ſome uſeful inſtruction, whereby the underſtanding or morals of the youth may at the ſame time be improved.

It is required that they ſhould firſt ſtudy and underſtand the leſſons, before they are put upon reading them properly; to which end each boy ſhould have an Engliſh dictionary, to help him over *difficulties*. When our boys read Engliſh to us, we are apt to imagine they underſtand wha

they read, becaule we do, and becauſe it is their mother tongue. But they often read, as parrots ſpeak, knowing little or nothing of the meaning. And it is impoſſible a reader ſhould give the due modulation to his voice, and pronounce properly, unleſs his underſtanding goes before his tongue, and makes him maſter of the ſentiment, Accuſtoming boys to read aloud what they do not firſt underſtand, is the cauſe of thoſe even ſet tones ſo common among readers, which when they have once got a habit of uſing, they find ſo difficult to correct; by which means, among fifty readers we ſcarcely find a good one. For want of good reading, pieces publiſhed with a view to influence the minds of men, for their own or the public benefit, loſe half their force. Were there but one good reader in a neighbourhood, a public orator might be heard throughout a nation with the ſame advantages, and have the ſame effect upon his audience, as if they ſtood within the reach of his voice.

THE THIRD CLASS

To be taught ſpeaking properly and gracefully; which is near a-kin to good reading, and naturally follows it in the ſtudies of youth. Let the ſcholars of this claſs begin with learning the elements of rhetoric from ſome ſhort ſyſtem, ſo as to be able to give an account of the moſt uſeful tropes and figures. Let all their bad habits of ſpeaking, all offences againſt good grammar, all corrupt or foreign accents, and all improper phraſes, be pointed out to them. Short ſpeeches from the Roman or other hiſtory, or from the parliamentary debates, might be got by heart, and delivered with the *proper* action, &c. Speeches and ſcenes in our beſt

tragedies and comedies (avoiding things that could injure the morals of youth) might likewiſe be got by rote, and the boys exerciſed in delivering or acting them; great care being taken to form their manner after the trueſt models.

For their farther improvement, and a little to vary their ſtudies, let them now begin to read hiſtory, after having got by heart a ſhort table of the principal epochas in chronology. They may begin with Rollin's ancient and Roman hiſtories, and proceed at proper hours, as they go through the ſubſequent claſſes, with the beſt hiſtories of our own nation and colonies. Let emulation be excited among the boys, by giving, weekly, little prizes, or other ſmall encouragements, to thoſe who are able to give the beſt account of what they have read, as to times, places, names of perſons, &c. This will make them read with attention, and imprint the hiſtory well in their memories. In remarking on the hiſtory, the maſter will have fine opportunities of inſtilling inſtruction of various kinds, and improving the morals, as well as the underſtandings, of youth.

The natural and mechanic hiſtory, contained in the *Spectacle de la Nature*, might alſo be begun in this claſs, and continued through the ſubſequent claſſes, by other books of the ſame kind; for, next to the knowledge of duty, this kind of knowledge is certainly the moſt uſeful, as well as the moſt entertaining. The merchant may thereby be enabled better to underſtand many commodities in trade; the handicraftman to improve his buſineſs by new inſtruments, mixtures and materials; and frequently hints are given for new manufactures or new methods of improving land, that may be

ſet on foot greatly to the advantage of the country.

THE FOURTH CLASS

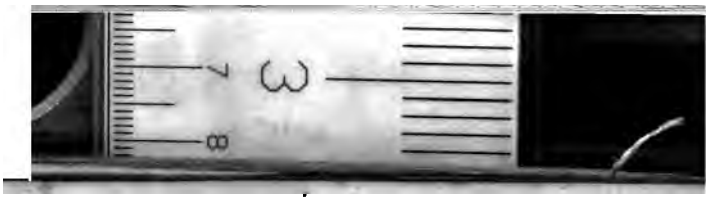
To be taught compoſition. Writing one's own language well, is the next neceſſary accompliſhment after good ſpeaking. It is the writing-maſter's buſineſs to take care that the boys make fair characters, and place them ſtraight and even in the lines: but to form their ſtyle, and even to take care that the ſtops and capitals are properly diſpoſed, is the part of the Engliſh maſter. The boys ſhould be put on writing letters to each other on any common occurrences, and on various ſubjects, imaginary buſineſs, &c. containing little ſtories, accounts of their late reading, what parts of authors pleaſe them, and why; letters of congratulation, of compliment, of requeſt, of thanks, of recommendation, of admonition, of conſolation, expoſtulation, excuſe, &c. In theſe they ſhould be taught to expreſs themſelves clearly, conciſely and naturally, without affected words or high-flown phraſes. All their letters to paſs through the maſter's hand, who is to point out the faults, adviſe the corrections, and commend what he finds right. Some of the beſt letters publiſhed in our own language, as Sir William Temple's, thoſe of Pope and his friends, and ſome others, might be ſet before the youth as models, their beauties pointed out and explained by the maſter, the letters themſelves tranſcribed by the ſcholar.

Dr. Johnſon's *Ethices Elementa*, or Firſt Principles of Morality, may now be read by the ſcholars, and explained by the maſter, to lay a ſolid foundation of virtue and piety in their minds. And as this claſs continues the reading of hiſtory, let them

now, at proper hours, receive ſome farther inſtruction in chronology, and in that part of geography (from the mathematical maſter) which is neceſſary to underſtand the maps and globes. They ſhould alſo be acquainted with the modern names of the places they find mentioned in ancient writers. The exerciſes of good reading, and proper ſpeaking ſtill continued at ſuitable times.

FIFTH CLASS.

To improve the youth in compoſition, they may now, beſides continuing to write letters, begin to write little eſſays in proſe, and ſometimes in verſe; not to make them poets, but for this reaſon, that nothing acquaints a lad ſo ſpeedily with variety of expreſſion, as the neceſſity of finding ſuch words and phraſes as will ſuit the meaſure, ſound and rhime of verſe, and at the ſame time well expreſs the ſentiment. Theſe eſſays ſhould all paſs under the maſter's eye, who will point out their faults, and put the writer on correcting them. Where the judgment is not ripe enough for forming new eſſays, let the ſentiments of a Spectator be given, and required to be clothed in the ſcholar's own words; or the circumſtance of ſome good ſtory; the ſcholar to find expreſſion. Let them be put ſometimes on abridging a paragraph of a diffuſe author: ſometime on dilating or amplifying what is wrote more cloſely. And now let Dr. Johnſon's *Noetica*, or Firſt Principles of Human Knowledge, containing a logic, or art of reaſoning &c. be read by the youth, and the difficulties that may occur to them be explained by the maſter. The reading of hiſtory, and the exerciſes of good reading and juſt ſpeaking, ſtill continued.



SIXTH CLASS.

In this claſs, beſides continuing the ſtudies of the preceding in hiſtory, rhetoric, logic, moral and natural philoſophy, the beſt Engliſh authors may be read and explained; as Tillotſon, Milton, Locke, Addiſon, Pope, Swift, the higher papers in the Spectator and Guardian, the beſt tranſlations of Homer, Virgil and Horace, of Telemachus, Travels of Cyrus, &c.

Once a year let there be public exerciſes in the hall; the truſtees and citizens preſent. Then let fine gilt books be given as prizes to ſuch boys as diſtinguiſh themſelves, and excel the others in any branch of learning, making three degrees of compariſon: giving the beſt prize to him that performs beſt; a leſs valuable one to him that comes up next to the beſt; and another to the third. Commendations, encouragement, and advice to the reſt; keeping up their hopes, that, by induſtry, they may excel another time. The names of thoſe that obtain the prize, to be yearly printed in a liſt.

The hours of each day are to be divided and diſpoſed in ſuch a manner as that ſome claſſes may be with the writing-maſter improving their hands; others with the mathematical-maſter, learning arithmetic, accounts, geography, uſe of the globes, drawing, mechanics, &c. while the reſt are in the Engliſh ſchool, under the Engliſh maſter's care.

Thus inſtructed, youth will come out of this ſchool fitted for learning any buſineſs, calling, or profeſſion, except ſuch wherein languages are *required*; and though unacquainted with any anci-

ent or foreign tongue, they will be maſters of their own which is of more immediate and general uſe; and withal will have attained many other valuable accompliſhments: the time uſually ſpent in acquiring thoſe languages, often without ſucceſs, being here employed in laying ſuch a foundation of knowledge and ability, as, properly improved, may qualify them to paſs through and execute the ſeveral offices of civil life, with advantage and reputation to themſelves and country.

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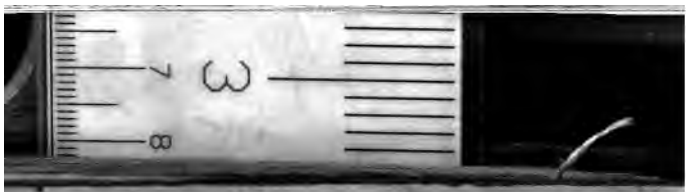

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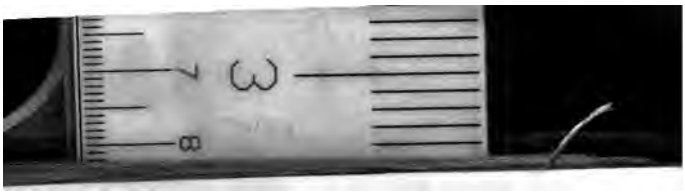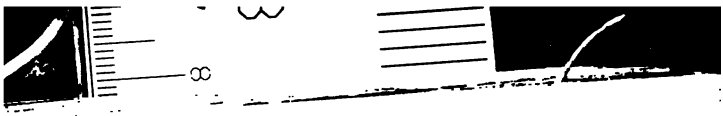
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